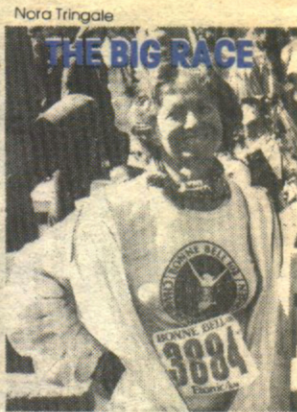


IN THESE TIMES



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Nov. 1-7, 1978

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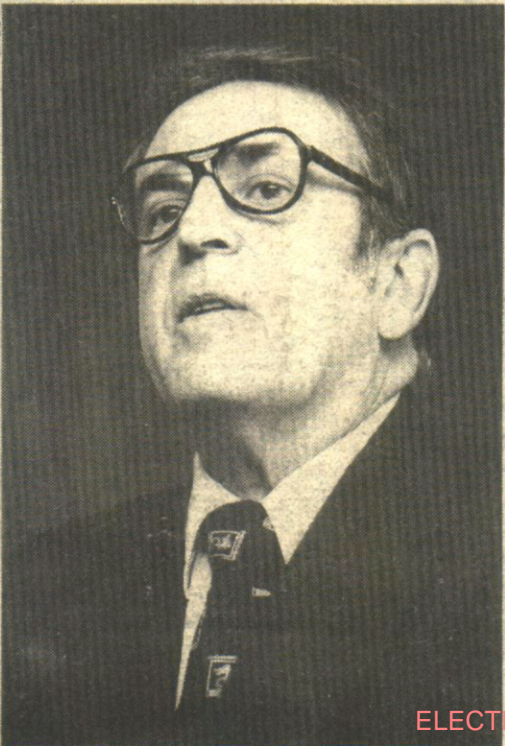
ELECTION 78

Sylvia Plachy



Texas Observer

Al DiFranco



Clockwise: Jeffrey Bell, Republican senatorial candidate in New Jersey; Texas Democrat Robert Kreuger; Illinois Democratic Representative Abner Mikva.

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by Harry Brill

Business can afford full employment—that's not the problem

According to big business, full employment is as un-American as vodka and wiener schnitzel. Businessmen claim that the ensuing labor shortage would not only encourage inflationary wages, but also would have an adverse impact on profits, which would severely curtail business investments and bring on another depression. Since there are no truth-in-politics laws, big business has successfully inundated the public with such claims. According to one major poll, the public has been buying the view that higher wages jeopardize the state of the economy, rather than improve it.

Actually, the American economy can afford full employment, a higher standard of living, and resources for economic expansion. During the full employment years of World War II, for example, profits far surpassed wage increases.

But private enterprise did operate then under constraints. And as a result of the growing concentration of business, and significant changes in business spending patterns since the 1940s, greater constraints upon business would now be required to achieve full employment. Investment capital would have to be carefully regulated, and income more equitably distributed. These measures would certainly impinge upon profits, but the claims of business notwithstanding, it does not follow that what is good for business is also good for the rest of us.

If higher corporate profits, the source of investment capital, are prerequisites for achieving full employment, then we should be extremely optimistic about the economic future. The Department of Commerce reports that since 1970 net profits have climbed by 270 percent. Actually, this figure appreciably understates profits. Two IBM economists have recently shown that since the mid-'60s, the extent to which profits have been underreported, mainly as a result of changes in the tax laws, have increased from 23 to 40 percent of net earnings. In other words, the gap between reported and actual profits has been growing. But although corporate profits have improved tremendously, unemployment since 1970 has also climbed enormously, by 70 percent. Something has obviously gone awry. Business correctly identifies the lack of sufficient investment in new plant and equipment as a major cause of unemployment. But it is absurd to blame unemployment on capital shortage.

In fact, business has invested hundreds of billions of dollars throughout the '70s, but in ways that have increased its profits at the expense of economic growth. President Carter is proposing major tax relief for corporations to spur private investments. But along with mainstream economists, he ignores the actual spending habits of business. A government policy that would increase profits without imposing any new obligations upon business will only encourage corporations to do more of the same. As a result, the economy will continue to deteriorate.

There are four main outlets for corporate investments that are good for business but not for the country: mergers and acquisitions, government and corporate securities, extending credit to other corporations in competition with the banks, and direct investments abroad.

Mergers and acquisition activity, which reached their zenith during the '60s, are making a resurgence. Absorbing other businesses with proven track records for making profits is far more tempting than investing in new plants and equipment. Since 1970 there have been over 12,500 corporate marriages. In 1977, more than 2,200 mergers and acquisitions were successfully negotiated, at a cost of \$20 billion, more than twice the number of mergers and acquisitions of 1975.

The paper chase.

Several observations about these corporate consolidations: First, changes in legal ownership may increase the overall capacities of particular companies, but they

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do not raise the productive capacity of the economy.

Second, the economies of scale these consolidations promote frequently cause a reduction in the size of their work force. Business concentration reduces the ability of the economy to create jobs. In a revealing study of job formation according to business size, the Development Foundation of MIT found that small businesses, which represented about 3 percent of the sales volume of the larger corporations, created 40 percent of the new jobs. Under current economic arrangements, benefits of scale accrue almost exclusively to the corporations.

Third, by promoting corporate concentration, with its institutional penchant for price fixing, mergers and acquisitions strengthen an inflationary bias in the economy.

Since companies have been unusually slow to plough back their money into new plants and equipment, there has been within the last few years an unusual pile up of cash. The 400 largest companies have accumulated over \$80 billion in cash, which is more than quadruple the amount they had at the beginning of 1970. So they have been making portfolio investments in government bonds and short term securities at an unprecedented level. IBM has over \$5 billion in government bonds and securities; Exxon, more than \$4 billion; Ford and General Motors, over \$3 billion each; General Electric, \$2 billion. These investments represent a major change in corporate strategy.

Making substantial portfolio investments in other corporations at the expense of direct investments in their own might not be so bad if they contributed to the expansion of these other companies. But this is not generally true. Almost all corporate stocks purchased, by buyers and sellers who reinvest, are in old issues, not in new equity, and therefore do not increase the capital of the corporations. The large non-financial institutions are understandably adverse to taking serious risks in corporations they do not control.

Non-financial corporations have also been channeling their capital into the credit business. In fact, some of these corporations have set up separate companies in competition with the banks. General Electric Corporation boasts of having extended \$31 billion in credit to commercial, industrial and consumer related businesses. In the last two years, business loans by non-financial corporations have doubled.

Commercial banks have been complaining about their serious difficulties finding corporate borrowers, which they attribute in part to the fierce competition from the non-financial institutions. The point is that the additional capital made available by non-financial corporations for business loans only displaces other funding sources, and therefore does not serve to stimulate the economy.

Overproduction and underconsumption.

Direct investment abroad has been rising rapidly. Foreign direct investments by American non-financial corporations have reached a reported \$140 billion. These investments are robbing American workers of jobs. As a result, millions of potential jobs are not developed domestically while existing jobs are destroyed through low wage competition from abroad.

From the perspective of big business, lackluster business conditions are a disincentive to direct investment in new plant and equipment. As *Business Week* explains, were the U.S. substantially to increase capacity, "there wouldn't be enough warehouses to hold all the unsold merchandise or enough computers to pound out all the unemployment checks." They're correct to underscore the depressing impact of inadequate purchasing power on economic expansion.

But *Business Week* ignores how this came about. Consumers, after all, are mainly workers, whose real

wages during this decade have barely been advancing while prices have been rapidly escalating. The declining purchasing power of the consumer reflects the increasing power of big business. In fact we have already moved into an era of wage and price controls, in which big business for the most part controls both.

The consequences for the economy are serious. Squeezing consumers through price gouging absorbs a larger share of their disposable income. With consumer credit capabilities stretching toward their limits, corporations are deprived of incentive to expand. In fact, the power of oligopolies to increase their profits by managing prices is being substituted for capital expansion. Higher profits can be obtained without risking investments in new plant and equipment.

Moreover, to assure a profitable consumption market based on higher prices requires deliberate curtailment of expansion. Otherwise, the corporations would be burdened by high levels of excess capacity. This would appreciably raise their unit costs, or threaten oligopoly

Tax relief to corporations will increase profits, but it will not induce corporations to invest in new jobs. Only investment control will do that.

pricing patterns by generating pressures to increase production in order to reduce the costs of paying for idle capacity.

Full employment and redistribution.

In other words, the lid on economic expansion reflects the maldistribution of income. Workers' buying power has been eroding in favor of higher profits, much of which is being siphoned off into unproductive investments. Accordingly, a program to redistribute income at the expense of profits is imperative for achieving full employment.

The reallocation of profits must apply not only to retained corporate earnings, but also to the billions of dollars of stockholders' dividends. The effect of dividend policy on unemployment is enormous. In the recession year of 1974, for example, General Motors laid off many workers while paying out dividends in excess of its net profit that year. From 1974 to 1975 corporate profits declined by 13 percent. Dividend payouts, however, increased by over \$1 billion.

To provide these higher dividends on a smaller profit base, the corporations had to increase the percentage of their net profits paid to stockholders from about 40 to 50 percent. Had the proportion just remained the same as the prior year, the several billions of dollars saved could have been applied to curtailing layoffs. Instead, American workers were forced to bear the brunt of the recession to assure that the stockholders, along with the corporations, would prosper.

The behavior of corporations, as opposed to the rhetoric of their spokesmen, should remind us that we cannot rely on their policies to achieve full employment. Yet reliance upon private enterprise to create jobs is exactly what President Carter has been proposing.

Nothing short of the democratization and regulation of investment decisions will move the economy toward full employment. A minimal full employment program, then, must demand of the President and the Congress that business be compelled to cease its investment strikes against working people. The time has come to enact something like a Taft-Hartley Law for business.

Harry Brill is associate professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

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IN THE NATION

California rightists are driving to unseat the state's first woman supreme court chief justice.

dure. No opponent appears on the ballot. Instead, the voters can choose between voting "yes" or "no," with a majority of "yeses" required for confirmation.

In a sense this means that the Justices are running against themselves and their record. The last effort to unseat a Justice was in the mid-'60s after the California court ruled that an initiative drive repealing the state's Fair Housing Act was unconstitutional. That effort fizzled out before election day.

However, Bird's brief tenure in office provides no real record for a political attack. She has yet to break from the court majority on any significant decision. And she hasn't led the Court in any direction running significantly against public opinion.

But Bird's record isn't the real issue in the drive to unseat her. The anti-Bird forces represent a significant right-wing political reaction to what has been hailed as Jerry Brown's most progressive side: his judicial appointments.

Brown has appointed more women and more minorities to the bench than any governor in California history. Bird is only the most visible of the many "firsts" to reach the bench during Brown's administration. These include the first Black on the state Supreme Court, first Chicanos on municipal and superior courts in several cities with large Chicano populations, and first women on appellate and superior courts in several jurisdictions.

More significantly, Brown's appointees have not been "window dressing" judges who already are locked into the status quo. Brown's Legal Appointments Secretary, J. Anthony Kline, is a former public interest attorney from San Francisco. In scouring the state to find attorneys he thinks would make good judges, Kline has taken great pains to go outside established political support networks and big campaign contributors, who normally have a large influence on judicial appointments. Kline's search has brought judge-ships to former poverty lawyers, public defenders, public interest attorneys, and ACLU staff attorneys in many parts of California.

The staunch right-wing opposition to Rose Bird stems from the forces most threatened by these changes in the judiciary: the law-and-order wing of the California Republican Party. Comprised largely of deputy district attorneys, county sheriffs and the pro-gun-owning grass roots, these are the same forces that supported last spring's bid by former Los Angeles police chief Ed Davis—who once advocated hanging skyjackers on the spot—to capture the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Davis finished second.

(In that same primary, the agribusiness opposition to Bird gathered behind the candidacy of Fresno assemblyman Ken Maddy, whose major program was to repeal the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. Maddy finished third. The PR firm that handled Maddy's campaign, Russo, Watts & Associates, is running No-on-Bird.)

This strong sentiment within the GOP drove the state Republican Party to go on record favoring the ouster of Bird. The interjection of partisanship into the campaign, though, has outraged the state's legal establishment, which fears that the impartiality of the judiciary is being threatened.

Bird made similar charges early last summer when the dump Bird drive was getting started. In a tersely worded speech to a lawyers' convention, Bird characterized those who oppose her as, "a small group of extremists whose zeal for politi-

cizing the bench to ensure ideological domination has emboldened them to believe that the chief justiceship can be bought by the expenditure of \$1 million in a media blitz campaign."

Since that statement, Bird has steadfastly refused to speak out publicly on the drive to gain her ouster, declaring she believed it would be an affront to her office to get involved in a mud-slinging political campaign.

Nevertheless, several groups around the state are working to keep her in office. The first to rally to Bird's aid were groups of women lawyers in San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Los Angeles. Support has since broadened to include several major county bar associations, the mayors of Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, the 5,100-member California Trial Lawyers Association, and the newly formed Californians for the Chief Justice.

It's mostly been a media campaign, with charges and counter-charges dominating the headlines. Thus far, the spate of anti-Bird TV commercials prepared by H.L. Richardson has generated the most controversy.

Richardson's media included a 30-second spot accusing Bird of being soft on crime for her concurring opinion in a rape case in which she reluctantly agreed that the law did not define rape as "great bodily injury." Paradoxically, these charges opened up Bird to attack from feminists who number her staunchest supporters.

But Richardson has been unable to find California TV stations willing to air his rape charges, which were sensationalistically portrayed and emotionally drawn. Bird supporters deluged every TV station in the state with letters objecting that the spot was misleading and even false. Noting that Bird's opinion included a statement of personal repugnance for both the crime and the state of the law she was forced to uphold, her supporters threatened to go to the FCC to get stations that aired the commercials to permit Bird supporters equal time to refute the charges.

If Bird survives the challenge, she will be sitting in on several very critical cases that will come up next year, including the legality of the present death penalty statute and the rights of poor women to obtain MediCal-funded abortions. But her potential stand on these issues is not being made an issue by her supporters, who see the dump Bird movement as a threat to the ability of the judiciary to tackle thorny problems that come before it.

The spectre of the anti-Bird drive as a precursor of a judiciary that would be politically subservient to any political drive to recall Justices who made unpopular decisions has united the left and the center in defense of the judiciary. Californians for the Chief Justice has belatedly started raising money to counter the anti-Bird efforts, enlisting Carrol O'Connor (TV's Archie Bunker) to do a series of commercials in her favor.

Bird herself expressed these sentiments best before her electoral vow of silence began:

"If our courts lose their authority and their rulings are no longer respected, there will be no one left to resolve the divisive issues that can rip the social fabric apart."

"When the courts are destroyed, so too is the Bill of Rights. The courts are a safety valve without which no democratic society can survive."

Larry Remer is IN THESE TIMES California correspondent.



ELECTIONS

California GOP's law-and-order wing guns for Rose Bird

By Larry Remer

SAN DIEGO

NOT SINCE THE JOHN BIRCH Society waged its infamous campaign to impeach Earl Warren has a sitting judge faced such stiff right-wing opposition as the present drive to unseat the Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court, Rose Elizabeth Bird.

Appointed 18 months ago by Gov. Jerry Brown, Bird is the first woman to sit on the high court. Even as her appointment was being announced, Bird was drawing fire from the state's gun lobby and California's agribusiness establishment.

Before ascending to the Court, Bird was Brown's Secretary of Agriculture and Services. In that post she was instrumental in drafting and implementing the landmark California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which guaranteed the rights of farmworkers to vote for a union to represent them. For that she received plaudits from Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers and their supporters around the state. But she also earned the enmity of

California growers and processors who are underwriting much of the campaign to unseat her.

However, the most vitriolic attacks on Bird have come from H.L. Richardson, an ultraconservative Republican state senator who heads two of the largest gun-owner organizations in the state. Citing Bird's background as a public defender, Richardson has attacked the chief justice for being "soft on crime" and has contended that she is unqualified to serve because of her personal opposition to the death penalty.

Two anti-Bird groups have formed to drive the Chief Justice from office. Richardson is heading a Law and Order Committee, and a No-on-Bird Committee, financed largely by agribusiness, is also active. With a war chest of more than \$1 million, the two groups are planning a massive media blitz to convince California voters to deny Bird confirmation when her name appears on next week's ballot.

Under California law, state Supreme Court Justices are confirmed every 12 years by voters. It's an unusual proce-

THE BAD & THE UGLY

Rizzo's racist try for another term unites Philly left

By Jim Quinn

PHILADELPHIA

FRANK RIZZO, THE RIGHT-WING ex-cop who has been Mayor of Philadelphia for the past eight years, is campaigning again. But this time he is running not against an establishment candidate, but his own record. Rizzo has served the two terms permitted by the city charter. So he has endorsed a referendum to amend the charter to permit him to run again. The proposed charter change (called "Charter Reform" now that Rizzo has imported Sanford Wiener, the professional election engineer who helped bring gambling to Atlantic City) has led Rizzo to some of his most blatantly racist rhetoric. And it has provided Philadelphia's sizable but usually divided left community with an experience in working together.

Rizzo began the campaign in a white neighborhood that has successfully fought public housing for ten years. There he criticized the U.S. Supreme Court, which finally decided that the housing must be built, and called for white people to fight for "white rights." During the campaign, Rizzo was awarded (and rejected) the Ku Klux Klan's Racist of the Month Award. He lumped the NAACP with the Black Panthers as "radical extremists and revolutionary organizations" and called on Philadelphia to "vote white." With the arrival of Sanford Wiener, Rizzo played down racist rhetoric and started saying, "I am not a racist," in a manner reminiscent of Richard Nixon's "I am not a crook."

There has been considerable opposition to Rizzo inside the city establishment. One of the first groups to oppose "Charter Reform" was the Committee to Defend the Charter, made up largely of bank presidents and business executives. CDC collects money (tax deductible, since the issue is constitutional and not political) and runs TV ads with the slogan, "Eight years—Enough time, enough power." Another group, the Committee to Protect the Charter, organized mostly by the local ADA, has adopted a good government approach.

The left.

Left groups in Philadelphia felt that the issue was Rizzo's administration, which has cut taxes for business while raising the city wage tax, made Philadelphia infamous for the brutality of its police force and has allowed housing in minority areas to deteriorate while building a downtown shopping center whose cost may run to a billion dollars. But many left organizations are suspicious of or deeply opposed to electoral politics.

In the end, Rizzo and his rhetoric were decisive. The Stop Rizzo Coalition set up offices in a downtown building on a floor below the Committee to Protect (ADA) and hired two separate coordinators, Juan Gonzalez, of the Young Lords, and Paul Tully, a veteran of the national staffs of Robert Kennedy, Gene McCarthy, George McGovern and Morris Udall. The Stop Rizzo Coalition has a 50-member steering committee, representing such groups as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the New American Movement, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, African Peoples Party, Sholom Aleichem Club, Women Against Violence Against Women, National Lawyers' Guild, Concerned Members of Local 813 (UAW), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Revolutionary Student Brigade and the Socialist Party USA. The experience of working together, first in a

The anti-Rizzo coalition has registered 200,000 new voters and appears to be winning its fight against the Philadelphia mayor's "charter reform."

voter registration drive and now in the election campaign, has been surprisingly harmonious.

"Frank Rizzo is our best organizer," says Tully, a big beefy man. "Rizzo's been saying things that even Wallace never said. And every time he comes out with one of those heavy 'Vote White' messages—our phones start to ring. People come walking in the office, determined people, who've finally decided, enough's enough."

"I'm used to disagreements," he continues. "In presidential campaign politics you have a lot of pressure. You have meetings, and sooner or later somebody starts throwing chairs. Then you wait three days and get everybody together for...peace. A lot of these people in our meetings have real political differences. And a lot of them love to talk. I keep waiting for the chairs to start flying. It never happens... There's a lot of...grace and rhythm. I call it our operetta... You can't understand it without understanding music. Somehow it all works out."

New registrations.

Tully says the coalition has carbons of new registrations, and that they have set up ward and division committees, have 2,000 people in the field "and election



Frank Rizzo calls on Philadelphians to "vote white."

day we'll have 5,000," including poll watchers, "so they can't steal votes."

Despite many obstacles, the campaign has gone on at all levels. More than 200,000 registration forms were turned in city-wide, the largest registration of new voters in Philadelphia history, beating the 175,000 who registered before the Kennedy-Nixon presidential race. Workers committees set up registration booths at factories, and put pressure on the local AFL-CIO (a group with lots of Rizzo support, especially from the construction worker unions) to attack Rizzo's

divisive racial rhetoric and anti-labor politics.

"Of course, there was a lot of disagreement about that, too," said Tully. "Henry Nicholas, the head of the Hospital Workers Union, introduced a resolution at the meeting of the AFL-CIO board to reject racist rhetoric. 'You know, we hear all this stuff about solidarity, guys. Here's a chance for you to show a little solidarity with the rank and file.' So, the executive board voted the resolution out of order, which is to be expected. But it could

Continued on page 18.

Jesse Helms tries to buy a victory against N.C. populist in Senate race

By Bob McMahon

North Carolina voters are experiencing the most expensive Senate race in U.S. history.

In expenditures it is also one of the most one-sided. By mid-September, Republican Jesse Helms had raised \$6.2 million, while his maverick populist opponent, Democrat John Ingram, had to work hard to scrape together \$200,000.

A month before the election, a newspaper poll showed Helms leading 45-38 percent, with 12 percent undecided.

Ingram, a tough, come-from-behind campaigner, is hardly despairing. After all, in June he rocked the Democratic establishment by beating primary opponent Luther Hodges by 8 percent, when a poll before the election showed him 10 points behind. Hodges spent \$1 million in the primary to Ingram's \$60,000.

Ingram, whose populism and personal attacks on his opponent leave many conservative Democratic leaders uncomfortable, has made Helms' money a campaign issue. Helms' success in raising money from a national direct mail appeal to right-wing lists, Ingram says, shows he is a candidate of "special interests," "the oil and gas lobby." "Helms," Ingram says bluntly, "can be bought."

For his part, Helms charges that big

labor bosses are making an all-out effort to silence him, sending "truckloads" of money into the state to help his opponent. (Ingram returned the one labor donation—\$5000 from AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education—he has received.)

Besides labor-baiting—a potent tactic in this least unionized state—Helms has stressed fiscal conservatism, coupled with harsh attacks on Carter defense and foreign policies. (Helms is a leading supporter of South Africa and white Rhodesia.)

Ingram is content to stand by the Carter administration position on defense and foreign affairs when he is asked about them. His campaign focuses instead on the consumer's pocketbook, with frequent references to his record as North Carolina Insurance Commissioner fighting rate increases. At campaign stops he is apt to introduce himself as "your insurance commissioner," and forget to mention his Senate candidacy.

The Democratic Party is mounting a determined effort to beat Helms, although many leaders express mixed feeling about Ingram, who is out of tune with the business-oriented conservatism that dominates state politics. Some are quietly sitting out the race.

Helms has set up a "Democrats for Jesse" organization and rarely mentions the Republican party when out on the

stump. (Democrats hold a 3-1 registration edge in the state.) Helms has long been a spokesman for the "Wallace vote" in heavily-Democratic eastern North Carolina. He lashes out at Ingram as a liberal, a "McGovern," out of the North Carolina mainstream.

In national terms Ingram would be seen as a moderate, even a bit conservative with a proposal (details unspecified) to reduce federal spending by 3 percent a year. As insurance commissioner, he has opposed no-fault auto coverage and wants national health insurance through private insurers.

An Ingram victory would be a sign of the waning of the racist conservatism Helms speaks for. Ingram's populist style could also shake up North Carolina politics if it proves a winner.

A Helms win would boost him to even greater prominence as a spokesman for the aggressive new right. Already his national contributors list of 200,000-plus and proven record as a fund-raiser are being spoken of as a potent factor behind whatever candidate Helms chooses in the 1980 Republican presidential primaries. Helms forces have dropped coy hints the Senator might be thinking ahead to a vice presidential nomination.

Bob McMahon writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES from North Carolina.

By Alexander Cockburn
and James Ridgeway

THE IDIOM OF NATIONAL POLITICS over at least the next two years may well be determined by the outcome of a little noticed senatorial campaign in New Jersey. There, with time rapidly running out, a young conservative Republican, Jeffrey Bell, feels sure that he can still wrest victory from the favorite: former basketball star and liberal Democrat Bill Bradley.

Across the country, new conservatives and old Republicans are hoping that Bell will be a portent: that a surprise triumph over Bradley will show that the tax revolt has staying power and can be made to work for them. If Bell wins, the lobby behind New York Representative Jack Kemp's call for a huge permanent tax reduction will gain powerful national presence, and could—along with a Kemp drive for the nomination—be politically dominant in Republican presidential politics in 1980.

Even after his upset of Sen. Clifford Case in the Republican primary, achieved by careful targeting of conservative voters by direct mail and a low turnout, Bell was given little chance of beating Bradley. Polls showed a 30 point spread between the two, with almost half the voters undecided. It was widely assumed that Bradley, with his name recognition from a ten-year stint with the New York Knicks, would win in a walk. Bell's problem has always been to link the voters' tax rage with his own name and candidacy.

Bell's advisers now claim that Bradley's support is dropping away. They say that results of a recent poll show Bradley has lost 12 points (from 47 to 35) in three months. It was this poll, the Bell camp says, that persuaded the senatorial Republican Campaign Committee to begin pouring money into New Jersey in unprecedented support for a nonincumbent candidate.

The party is beginning to rally to Bell. Case has finally brought himself to proclaim an endorsement. Jerry Ford, who carried New Jersey in 1976, is scheduled to campaign for Bell in the state; and similar appearances by Republican bigwigs will coincide with a last-minute media blitz and another direct-mail shot, this one of a million and a half pieces, to turn out the conservative vote.

Bradley has responded to all this with extreme caution. He stays away from the press and adheres to a bland style of political rhetoric based on name recognition. He is confronting the voters with a traditional liberal pitch, carefully balanced in the Carter manner.

On the surface, New Jersey citizens face an extraordinarily clear choice. Bell, at 34, unmarried, is almost a paradigm of conservative Republican political biography. The son of a Dupont executive, he came under the influence of William Buckley, William Rusher, and the *National Review* while studying English and comparative literature at Columbia. He volunteered to serve in Vietnam, has been the director of the American Conservative Union, and in 1974 joined Ronald Reagan's staff as his first full-time adviser for the 1976 presidential campaign.

Bradley's biography is equally striking. He is the grandson of a Missouri banker, was educated at Princeton, won a gold medal in the 1964 Olympics, was twice an All-American basketball star, was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford where he earned a degree, and was special correspondent for CBS radio. He had a noted career with the Knicks, during which he also performed good works, such as teaching basic educational skills at the Urban League street academy and serving as assistant to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. At 35, he is rich, well known, and has been planning this race for a long time.

It must be said, on the basis of a swing through New Jersey, that Bell is by far the most interesting and personable candidate. An hour-long interview produced a confident and unflinching enunciation of his philosophy.

In the face of almost all problems, from welfare to pollution to business confidence to energy, Bell brandishes his philosopher's stone: "Deep, permanent, uni-



Democrat Bill Bradley listens to voters at a campaign rally.

Sylvia Piacchi

ELECTIONS

Bradley's fast break is fading as Bell comes from behind

Can "intimacy" with labor leaders and buzzwords for businessmen successfully disguise limp ideas?

form tax reductions, consequent high growth, and resolution of crisis. A rising tide lifts all boats," he proclaims.

Then he wrenches a dollar bill from his pocket and asks, "What is the one thing we ask the federal government to make? Do we ask them to make steel or autos—and God knows what a federal auto would look like—No. This is the only thing we ask them to produce, and when we do we ask them to tell us that a year from now it will be worth 100 cents and not 89. When the government fails to do this, it is failing in its most fundamental task and loses its legitimacy."

It's an act that goes down well in an era of inflation.

Bell is an apostle of a new Republican recipe. It combines a great many of the old Republican watchwords (less regulation, thrift, small government, fiscal prudence, etc.) with a new clarion call for growth. With the magic recipe of a 33 percent tax cut, Bell and others like him across the country can approach hitherto closed constituencies among blue-collar workers, blacks, and other minorities with the word that they, not the Democrats, are the crusaders for growth through less taxes and better times for all.

Bell opposes ERA, believing the law should hold men more accountable than women. A recent convert to Catholicism, he preserves a life-long abhorrence of abortion. He's naturally a strong believer in business competition and thinks government regulation has fostered monopoly, although he favors regulation in the case of proven real monopoly. Unlike

many Republicans, he's prepared to say that industries should be shut down if they are proven causes of cancer and other fatal diseases. He cites asbestos as a case in point.

Twelve hours after these reflections, Bill Bradley was addressing a state convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Atlantic City.

After some mild polemic against his opponent as a would-be architect of destruction of the labor movement and some reflections on the anti-labor campaigns of "management," Bradley dwelt on the "social contract" forged in the 1930s between management and labor and reflected how each side had formerly gained from this harmonious arrangement.

From citation of the Wagner Act and the need for labor reform to curb the anti-union excesses in the Southern Rim (and thus return manufacturing to New Jersey), Bradley shifted to a personal theme.

"Most of you have seen me in different circumstances, running around in short pants in drafty arenas, maybe on television. And I think we have shared some intimate moments. Moments of great triumph, moments of pressure, moments of sadness. And I think some bond was established, so when I come before you today I come not just as another political candidate but as someone you know and have known for a number of years. To me that offers a great opportunity. It is also a great opportunity to level with people."

If they were surprised by this citation of intimacy, the brothers and sisters of

the IBEW must have been bemused by Bradley's ensuing double somersault. "We need a tax reduction," he declared. "I have proposed a \$25 billion one, and one that is targeted at people who are working to pay most taxes. We cannot have, and I will not advocate, a tax cut in an election year to get elected. We need a tax cut that is real next year and the year after and which won't result in higher inflation."

But where Bell may win and where Bradley makes such a limp impression is in the realm of energetically expressed ideas. This became abundantly clear in a debate between Bradley and Bell organized by the South Jersey and Cherry Hill Chambers of Commerce.

Executives from RCA, Price Waterhouse, Campbell Soup, Texaco, and Corning Glass listened as Bradley opened the proceedings with a positive avalanche of conservative buzzwords. After saying that he's been lucky in family and education, avocation, and "a chance to spend six months in every year preparing for public service," Bradley got down to business, in every sense of the word. He wanted to solve problems "in a cost-effective manner." He was "skeptical about government and its capacity." He had "no vested interest in old ideas or ineffective government programs." "We need," he said, "to cut the federal deficit and cut the federal budget. We need less regulation."

Bradley also spoke against nuclear power, argued for an alternative energy policy as one way of controlling inflation, favored more public works to cope with unemployment. Amid Bell's assaults on the CETA program, Bradley actually became eloquent about the chances CETA funds were giving to those who might otherwise have none. He invoked the likelihood of higher local taxes if Bell's federal surgery were to come to pass. But the ardor of a Hubert Humphrey eloquently defending liberal big government and big spending simply was not in him.

In New Jersey, Bell's chance for victory is a long shot. His polls may show a narrowing gap with Bradley, but other Republican polls show almost no change in the 20-point spread.

Yet Bell has one thing going for him: tax policy has already been a volatile political issue in New Jersey and that—combined with the national trend after Jarvis-Gann—may help him.

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Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway write the "Moving Target" column each week in the *Village Voice*, from which this article is adapted.

LABOR

Union-busting returns to Wilkes-Barre

By Sandra Dorr

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

FRANK ZINI, A LIGHTLY bearded 29-year-old reporter, is working 12-hour shifts on adrenalin and bewildered anger. Last June, three years after finishing his journalism M.A. at Penn State, he finally landed a job on a daily—the 70,000-circulation Wilkes-Barre *Times-Leader*. Zini had put in four months on the night shift at \$253 gross a week; he considered that a damn good job under a model Guild contract in a heavily unionized town.

The *Times-Leader* was acquired last May by Capital Cities Communications, one of the fastest-growing media firms in the country, distinguished by high profits, low wages and a near-rabid anti-union militancy.

Contract negotiations, against a Sept. 30 deadline stalled on a 37-page list of company demands to slash overtime, holiday pay, sick leave, health-care benefits, and abolish all union say-so over hiring, firing and promotions. On Friday, Oct. 7, Zini joined 219 other journalists, pressmen, typographers, and stereotypers on strike.

Wilkes-Barre's 55,000 population went on an emergency alert after the first three days in an atmosphere that resembled the 1930s. Four pickets were injured the first day by delivery trucks driven by helmeted Wackenhut security guards.

The *Times-Leader* didn't make it to the newsstands that day as Teamster drivers refused to cross picket lines and hard-core local operating engineers and utility workers joined in support of the pickets. A dazed police chief, Jim Ruddick, cancelled leaves, barricaded two blocks of Main Street facing the newspaper plant, and banned night traffic in the area.

The four unions banded together to form the Wilkes-Barre Council of Newspaper Unions. A six-room office near the newspaper plant functioned as strike and Council headquarters, where 22 reporters, Zini among them, began working with organizers, advertising and circulation strikers, who brought their computer records over from the *Times-Leader*. A 24-page tabloid, the *Citizens Voice*, was set to roll by Sunday night.

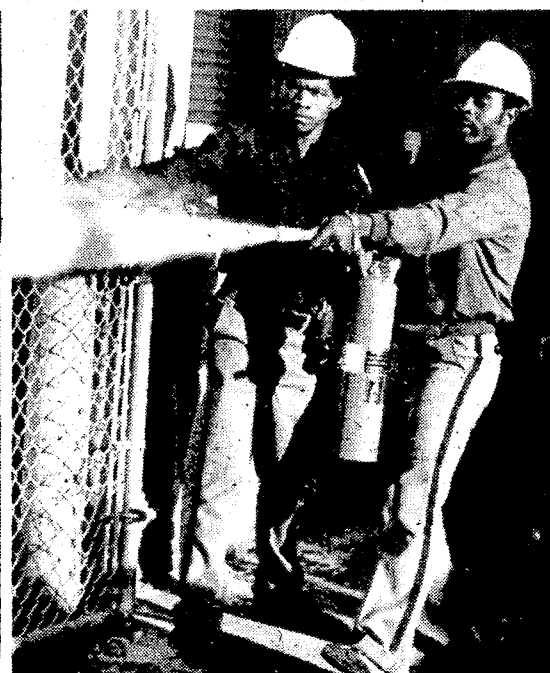
Both sides were ready for the showdown. In May, Cap Cities surrounded the plant with a ten-foot fence topped with barbed wire, installed surveillance cameras inside and outside the building, and reinforced plant windows with bullet-proof glass. Forty-five cots and, inexplicably, eight truck tires filled with sand were rolled into the plant late in the summer.

On the newsroom side, Cap Cities imported Jack Shea, an executive editor from Fairchild Publications in New York. Three weeks before the strike, Shea ushered in pressmen, reporters, and management types from other Cap Cities publications—the non-union Kansas City *Star*, Fort-Worth *Star-Telegram*, the Oakland *Pontiac Press*, and Fairchild—for "orientation." On Sept. 29, one night before expiration of the Guild contract, about 24 Wackenhut guards were marched through the newsroom, and maintained round-the-clock.

"That's when the whole thing hit me," says Zini. "I kind of shrugged off the fence and the surveillance cameras. But when they brought in the guards, things got almost unbearably tense."

The union had its own ideas. Jim Orcutt, a burly, flamboyant, veteran rep from the International Guild, amassed newspaper employees, spouses and children for a meeting Sept. 23 to talk strategy. A strike against Capital Cities, he told them, would take a year.

Orcutt also wheedled a \$5,000 interest-free loan from the national Guild to lease



Photos/Paul Golias

Top: Guards shoot fire hose from atop Wilkes-Barre Publishing Co., Monday afternoon, Oct. 9. Left: Thomas Murray, picket injured when hit in the face with chemicals from fire extinguisher, on the hood of a car before he was taken to the hospital. Right: Guards attack pickets with fire extinguishers, Monday afternoon, Oct. 9.

three web presses and five Compugraphic machines from a local family-owned printing plant. The plan, as compositor Marley Sherrer staunchly put it, was to "run those people (Cap Cities) out of town." The four unions worked at the *Leader* by day, and set up composing tables and equipment by night.

"By Monday evening, Oct. 9, two editions of the *Times-Leader* remained bundled on the plant docks, a record shutdown for Cap Cities; Rev. Julius Ayers had preached a ringing sermon against Cap Cities from a local Presbyterian pulpit, and 40,000 issues of the *Citizen Voice* were out in the town. Strike headquarters were thick with volunteers passing out "Cap Cities Go Home" buttons and bumper stickers, and several hundred onlookers, union supporters and pickets thronged around the fence.

"All of a sudden, before you knew it, there was a guy on the roof, and he was spraying everybody down, picketers, pedestrians, policemen. They had mace, they were shooting it at everybody—once it made contact with your wet skin, it really started to burn," recounts one of Wilkes-Barre's finest, Kenneth Evans. Glasses of ammonia were thrown in pickets' faces; the guards sprayed fire extinguishers over the next hour, says Evans.

Around 10:30 that night, Orcutt and roughly 300 pickets, operating engineers and Teamsters herded towards the compound. Evans, on duty with 13 other officers, says the group "up and snapped the fence and lock. They used rocks, two by fours, bottles, and whatever they got out of the guard shack," while Wackenhuts scurried into the plant.

"We applied a little persuasion," admitted Orcutt. About 40 guards left that day; 12 more who arrived from New York took a look at the shattered windows and shack, and went home on the bus. "I didn't know," said one Wackenhut from Rhode Island, "that they had Teamsters in here."

The *Times-Leader* went out of business for the week as the *Citizens Voice* appeared Monday throughout the city and rose to a 50,000 circulation in five days. Fourteen employees turned in their

union cards and continued at the *Times-Leader*.

As of Monday (Oct. 23), both papers were publishing; the *Times-Leader* at 16 pages, the *Citizens Voice* at 24, with 12 pages of advertising.

"We're just plugging away," said an optimistic Paul Golias, Council secretary. "Now it's going to be an economic struggle for advertising and circulation dollars."

Negotiations are nonexistent; Cap Cities refuses comment. Roughly 40

guards are still in town, some of whom expect to stay at least a month. One company price has been high: \$36,000 in bail money for six Wackenhut guards charged by the city and county with simple or aggravated assault, one charged with rape.

"Cap Cities is here to break the unions," says Zini, relaxing at the end of his shift. "It's happened all over the country, at the Washington *Post* in New York, in Kansas City. What we're doing right here is what counts. It's not on the picket line."

Volkswagen back at work

By Eric Leif Davin

VOLKSWAGEN WORKERS IN NEW STANTON, PA., APPROVED THEIR FIRST contract with management by a two-to-one margin Oct. 21 and are back at work. The new contract raises the hourly rate to \$7 retroactive to Sept. 1, then will go to \$7.50 on Nov. 1, 1979, and to \$8.20 for the third year of the agreement.

Volkswagen workers closed America's only foreign car assembly plant for a week earlier this month (*ITT*, Oct. 25) after rejecting a contract that started at \$6.50 per hour.

William C. Craig, VW director of personnel, was pleased with the outcome: "We are confident this agreement will serve as the foundation for a strong and lasting relationship," he said.

The new contract took only five days to negotiate following the week-long wildcat strike. One reason for the speed is that Volkswagen of America "desperately" needs to increase production. The Pennsylvania plant produces 2,000 Rabbits per week and VW was already lagging in production before the strike. A second shift of workers, originally scheduled to begin in November, will now probably not begin until Jan. 1.

At the company's 1979 model preview, distributors agreed they really need Rabbits. "We're just not getting them in the numbers they promised," said a West Coast distributor. "We need that second shift." VW's car inventory at the beginning of 1978 was less than half the 1977 figure; its Rabbit population was closer to one-third the 1977 figure. "It's simply impossible to generate more sales out of that inventory," Richard L. Mugg, vice president in charge of sales, reported.

VW is in a race to establish itself in the American market before the Japanese Big Three—Toyota, Honda, and Datsun—can open plants of their own in this country. Asked how Japanese plants would affect Volkswagen's sales, James McLernon, President of Volkswagen of America, answered, "That's anyone's guess, but we hope to be entrenched in the U.S. market by the time they do."

Already pressured by lagging production of Rabbits and a race against time, VW could not afford to risk another round of strikes.

LABOR

Teamster Davids plan to bury Goliath

By Dan La Botz

WINDSOR, ONTARIO

TEAMSTER RANK AND FILERS, 600 strong from 28 states and provinces, attended the third annual convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) in Windsor, Ontario, on the weekend of Oct. 21 and 22. Some delegates representing TDU's 3,000 members came from as far as the Yukon, others from Jacksonville, Fla. Some were courageous enough to come from Tony Provenzano's gangster-run Local 560 in New Jersey.

Jim Carothers, Local 299, Detroit, chairman of the Carhauers Contract Committee (CCC), stated in his keynote address, "I have come to bury Fitzsimmons, not to praise him." This is the task the TDU convention set itself—the political burial of the Teamster bureaucracy. As Carothers said, "We need a rebirth of classical unionism. When one member feels pain, we all suffer. We are for one and one for all."

TDU, only a David compared to the Goliath of the powerful machine of Teamster International president Frank Fitzsimmons, still has some stones in its sling:

•Ken Paff, TDU National Organizer, formerly a truck driver in Cleveland Local 407, reported to the Convention that TDU just took control of its third local union, Local 886 in Oklahoma City. Jack Farrell won the presidency of the 8,000-member local last week, along with three more of the seven executive board members, and will take office in January.

Last year TDU won a majority of the executive board of Local 75 in Green Bay, Wisc., also, a reform slate in Local 213 in Vancouver, B.C., affiliated with TDU; TDU member Jack Vlahovic, secretary-treasurer and principal officer of 213 was removed from office by International vice-president Ed Lawson, head of the Canadian Division. Vlahovic is fighting his removal in court and believes he will win.

•Carothers reported to the convention that TDU could be a decisive factor in the contract covering thousands of carhauers. The current contract expires June 1, 1979. TDU, Carothers said, now has representatives from automobile transporters' unions that represent a majority of all carhauers, strongest in Detroit and Flint, but with others from Boston, Chicago, Amarillo and L.A.

The key issue in the carhauers contract fight is the right to majority rule. Two years ago 60 percent of all carhauers rejected the contract—but it takes a two-thirds majority to reject a contract in the Teamsters. When they subsequently wild-catted, 52 carhauers were fired and black-listed. The CCC is demanding their reinstatement.

•In addition, TDU is suing for equal space in the International Teamster Magazine for TDU candidates for International office. Pete Camarata, dock worker and steward in Local 299, Detroit, and Jack Vlahovic are running for general president and general secretary-treasurer against incumbents Frank Fitzsimmons and Ray Schoessling.

Craig Livingston, TDU attorney, explaining the suit and its chances of success to the convention, said TDU is alleging two violations of labor law: that Fitzsimmons and Schoessling use the magazine to campaign against Camarata and Vlahovic; and that they are using members' money in their personal interest in violation of their fiduciary duties.

•Finally, TDU has organized the Majority Contract Coalition (MCC) to fight for a decent contract for the 450,000 workers covered by the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA), the largest collective bargaining agreement in the country. The agreement expires April 1, 1979.

Mel Packer, driver from Local 249 in Pittsburgh, told an MCC meeting at the



Jack Vlahovic, TDU candidate for secretary-treasurer (left) and Pete Camarata, who is running against Fitzsimmons.

convention, "We are fighting corporate greed, and we must take that message to other unions and to the communities."

"Most important," said Packer, "TDU must emphasize the right and the principle of 'no contract—no work.' We must have the right to say that we are not going to sell our hands and feet on April 1 if we can't get what we need."

At the convention various local activists and reform groups came together to form the Carhauers (CCC) and freight (MCC) contract organizations, including members of the other major Teamster reform organization PROD (Professional Drivers Council), a larger, less militant Washington, D.C., based Teamster group.

Paul Poulos, PROD organizer told *IN THESE TIMES* that "an educated Teamster is an effective Teamster, and TDU is to

be complimented for its effective educational effort." The PROD National Council recently passed a motion that PROD members should work with TDU members in the contract coalitions where local chapters saw fit.

In this spirit of unity, TDU passed a motion to send two delegates to a meeting of Upsurge, a rank-and-file group of Teamsters who work for United Parcel Service (UPS). Contracts covering 80,000 UPS workers will expire on May 1, 1979, and UPS will have its first national contract.

Dan Moldea, author of the recently published *Hoffa Wars*, and a guest speaker, said: "From the moment I saw what was going on in the fight of the rank and file against the Teamster officials—I aligned myself with your cause." (Moldea

had revealed a murder plot by Teamster officials against TDU spokesman Pete Camarata at the 1976 IBT Las Vegas convention.)

"TDU and PROD," Moldea said, "now stand alone as the great reform organizations. As the National Master Freight Agreement approaches, I appeal to you to work together." He added that PROD had taken a big step towards unity when their attorney, Arthur Fox, repudiated and apologized for a letter he had written three years ago red-baiting members of the International Socialists active in building TDU.

Dan La Botz, a member of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union, was an organizer of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, and is a PROD member. He has written for TDU's Convoy and for Workers Power.

Round one for civil service reform

By Tom Young

CONGRESS HAS PASSED AND President Carter has signed the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, which, although its impact is unclear, could drastically change the civil service.

The bill divides the functions of the old Civil Service Commission into three agencies: The Office of Personnel Management, which will coordinate government-wide personnel and management practices; the Merit Systems Protection Board, charged with protecting the integrity of merit staffing and protecting whistleblowers; the Federal Labor Relations Authority, which will combine functions performed in the past by the CSC and the Labor Department in employee labor relations. Structured much like the National Labor Relations Board, the FLRA will conduct representation elections, determine negotiability of issues and prosecute unfair labor practices.

In addition, the new act alters the structure of civil service in two important ways: Employee rights of collective bargaining, formerly stipulated under an Executive Order, are now protected by law; and the separation of white-collar management from white-collar workers is accentuated.

The labor-relations section of the act engendered controversy. The act codifies an existing Executive Order, with some modifications pressed by federal employees' unions. Many of these changes are administrative (official time for union business, elimination of service fees for dues checkoff, payment of attorneys' fees in dismissal cases) and will not change

the overall balance of power. But they are useful of themselves, and the enactment of the Executive Order into law creates possibilities for further amendment favorable to the unions.

The reform act makes dramatic changes in civil service management structure. The top manager grades, GS 16-18, will become a senior Executive Service, designed to be an elite corps capable of managing any agency. The managers are expected to develop loyalties to the service (or themselves) as opposed to the department they are assigned to. They will be rewarded through a system of individual pay raises and bonuses.

Lower-level managers, GS 13-15, will also get on the individual performance bandwagon. They will receive only half of the comparability pay raise federal workers receive annually, with the remaining funds forming a pool for "merit" pay increases. Some GS-13 managers are reportedly so upset that they are opting out of management and back into the workforce.

"Agencies are being told to encourage a stronger division between employees and managers," said a union staffer. With the managers now on a different career and pay track from employees, the act appears to be establishing such a division.

Some federal employee unions strongly opposed the Senior Executive Service and pay changes for lower management as contrary to the civil service and the merit system. They argued that the new system is open to corruption and political manipulation, affecting both their members and the public. It is unclear what the outcome of the changes will be, but the potential for abuse is there. Up

to 10 percent of the Senior Executive Service may be political appointees under terms of the act. The lower management officials (GS 13-15) will be dependent on these higher-ups for their pay increases and career advancement. "I'm a 12," said Mike Adams, an American Federation of Government Employees local president, "and I know that a 13 will jump when ordered."

Federal sector unions have come from nothing 16 years ago to representing 58 percent of the federal work force, compared with 20 percent unionization of all workers. Under the new bill, these unions will get attorneys' fees for grievances won on personnel actions. This allowance is unprecedented in the private sector, yet federal unions still will have no right to strike and weak local organizations.

On management's part, the trend in the federal sector seems to be toward more contracting out to private industry, more temporary employees and uncertain conditions for permanent workers and a general toughening of management's line. "It may become like working at McDonalds, a swinging door," commented one unionist.

The Civil Service Reform Act is only the first round of what is likely to be a prolonged and confused argument. Carter, Civil Service management and the unions, all received some things they wanted from the bill, but all have a broader program or direction that was left unfulfilled. "In another two or three years we'll be back at the trough," predicted a union staffer. So will Carter.

Tom Young is a regular contributor to IN THESE TIMES on labor affairs.

IN THE WORLD

VATICAN

John Paul II will challenge Italian and U.S. Catholics

By Gary MacEoin & Nivita Riley

WE FIND IT SIGNIFICANT, if a little pathetic, that the cardinals who are protesting since Karol Wojtyla emerged from the conclave as Pope John Paul II—"too much," as Shakespeare would say—that the election has no political significance.

It is understandable that the U.S. contingent would want to downplay the colossal political implications of the decision of two-thirds of their fellow cardinals, a decision we suspect most of them joined their Italian colleagues in opposing. What we find pathetic is that they should now be trying to tell us that what by the simple fact of its happening has historic political effects for all of us is ahistorical, apolitical, a nonevent so transcendent as to have neither its head nor its feet on the earth.

There may have been a time, though we doubt it, when simple folk accepted at face value the unsubstantiated assertion that the only politician in papal conclaves was the Holy Spirit. But today we can abandon the pretense, as untheological as it is unhistorical, that the invisible third person stuffs the ballot boxes.

The reason they seem unable to do this is obviously political. To make a basically sound generalization, the church leaders in the U.S. and in Italy are out of step with the rest of the Roman Catholic world. They see the power and affluence they enjoy as inextricably tied to the perpetuation of the capitalist system.

In this they are correct. But does such self-interest justify the support they give a system that is clearly in conflict with the Christian principles they profess? Or is it politically realistic in the light of the steady growth all around the world of the challenge to that system?

The choice as Pope of a young cardinal from a socialist country, in which he had played a determining role in establishing an equilibrium between the Catholic church and the socialist regime, is a declaration that more than two-thirds of the world's cardinals do not think it is politically realistic. There are sound indications that many of them also voted as they did for moral as well as political reasons.

We think it is important to understand that the personal views of the new Pope do not affect the objective reality. Even if he should fit the virulent anti-communist image that Italians and many in the U.S. are projecting, a giant step has finally been taken by the leaders of the Catholic church. Their action has legitimated socialism as a politico-economic option. Capitalism can no longer count on the church as an automatic ally in its life-and-death struggle for world hegemony.

John Paul II has proved himself a consummate politician in his dealings with the Polish regime, knowing when to be tough, when to compromise. We anticipate that he will not take any dramatic steps to stress this political dimension of his election, that he will on the contrary downplay it and allow time for people to figure out for themselves how much has changed and why.

If anything, we were surprised that he went as far as he did in his first speech to the Vatican diplomatic corps. While pleading forcefully for religious freedom and social justice, in what should be seen prim-

In advocating the separation of church and state, the new pope threatens Italy's Christian Democrats.

arily as a reference to much of Latin America, the Philippines and South Korea, he insisted it is not "our business" to judge the actions of governments. He said he wanted to be able to engage in dialogue with all nations, while undertaking not to try to interfere in the affairs of these nations.

It is not easy for us in the West to grasp the full import of these remarks, which on the surface seem no more than an expression of diplomatic conventions. The reason is that most of us have no knowledge of the specifics of the bitter struggle between the socialist regimes brought to power in Eastern Europe after World War II and the dominant churches in the various countries.

In most of Western Europe, as in North America, the churches had been forced reluctantly to accept a greater or lesser separation of church and state, but in Eastern Europe the churches remained closely related by economic and political ties to the state. Thus, it was possible for the socialist regimes to introduce Ministries with power to appoint and to fire church officials of every degree, to pay or deny salaries, to bring effective pressure at every level on the life of the churches.

To survive, the churches had now to take the initiative and attempt to cut the bonds with the state, to put in practice a total separation of church and state, and to establish clear guidelines as to what is Caesar's and what is God's.

As long ago as Vatican Council II (1962-1965), Wojtyla—then a bishop—was clear on this issue. When conservatives at the Council threatened to rally enough votes to scuttle the proposed statement on religious liberty, Wojtyla took the lead with other bishops from Eastern Europe in a successful move to thwart them. A firm assertion that the rights of the individual conscience had absolute priority would, he argued, strengthen the efforts of his colleagues and himself to have this right acknowledged in their home countries.

The process is still far from complete but it continues to progress. A measure of its success is the message of congratulations of Poland's leaders to Wojtyla on his election; his response expressing his "deep desire" to see his homeland develop "spiritually and materially in peace, in the spirit of justice, and in respect for men"; and the frontpage of this reply by the Polish Communist newspaper.

Now let us look at the situation in Italy and the U.S., and in many other capitalist states. Even when there is formally a clear separation of church and state, as in the U.S., the Catholic church as an institution seeks a variety of benefits from the state, the long-standing freedom from taxation, the continuing effort to get state support for its schools, the now intensive lobbying to impose on all citizens by constitutional amendment its moral view regarding abortion.



Pope John Paul II embraces Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński during an Oct. 23 reception of Polish pilgrims.

The stakes in Italy are even more easily identified. The Italian bishops, orchestrated by the heads of the Vatican Curia, have concentrated their moral and financial power since 1944 on establishing and maintaining the Christian Democrats as the Italian government. This they have done in close collusion with the government of the U.S.

As the Christian Democrats grew more corrupt with their uninterrupted decades in office, and as the social situation in Italy deteriorated, it became ever more difficult to prevent the decisive shift to the left of the Italian electorate. A major factor in slowing it was the insistence by nearly all Italian bishops that Catholics had an obligation in conscience to vote for the Christian Democrats.

In the light of Pope John Paul II's hands-off declaration, they can hardly continue that stand. Even if they do, its already diminishing impact—eight million Catholics voted for the Communist party in the most recent elections—would dwindle to insignificance.

This signifies a new set of priorities for Roman Catholicism. One is the already indicated "legitimation" of socialism as an option that Catholics must evaluate seriously, and that they can accept without having their orthodoxy called in question. Ever since the "opening to the East" initiated by Pope John XXIII and pursued vigorously by Pope Paul VI, theologians in Latin America and elsewhere have been laying the foundations for this change, in ecumenical cooperation with progressive Protestants. The theological "establishment," especially in Rome and the U.S., has often reacted with contemptuous disapproval. But the tables are now turned. The conservatives are on the defensive.

Here we believe an early casualty will be what the Latin Americans call *tercerismo*, a third way between capitalism and socialism deriving from the often self-contradictory set of papal documents starting with Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891) known pretentiously as the so-

cial teaching of the church. This *tercerismo* has proved gravely divisive of the working class in Latin America, being promoted by the Christian Democrat parties to persuade voters that their policies, which support capitalism, offer an alternative to the capitalist system that is evolutionary and approved by the church.

John Paul II's election also gives the Third World a status within the Catholic church it hitherto lacked. It is clear that the election ended as it did only because the Third World cardinals deserted the Curia en masse. Given their economic dependence on the Vatican, that is an act of courage that shows a new self-image. Actually, the center of gravity in terms of numbers is already in the Third World, which today holds more than half of all Roman Catholics and by the year 2000 will hold two-thirds. Now they are starting to exercise corresponding political clout.

John Paul II can be expected to sympathize with their needs. His own understanding of what the church is about, derived from his personal experience, will also favor the Third World. He will want to identify with the struggle for human dignity and human living conditions that are the central needs of the masses of the Third World.

In addition to moving the church as an institution into a position to challenge the status quo in the capitalist countries, such an attitude can be expected to have radical repercussions on the church's internal structures. The shift of power to the Third World will logically mean the introduction of a pluralism and decentralization that will make Catholicism as much at home in Asia, Africa and the Latin American *altiplano* as it has been in Europe since the fifth century.

Gary MacEoin's latest book, *The Inner Elite*, is a sociological evaluation of the 111 cardinals who elected Popes John Paul I and II. Nivita Riley has worked with the official church structures in various countries in religious education and community development.

CANADA

Montreal socialist electoral coalition boasts new unity

By Henry Milner

MONTREAL

WITH A MUNICIPAL ELECTION coming up Nov. 12, the Montreal Citizens' Movement (*Rassemblement des Citoyens de Montreal* or RCM), the most significant socialist force in Canadian municipal politics, is about to re-enter the public spotlight.

The election will test the strength of the RCM, which has only recently overcome chronic factional infighting. The RCM will face not only Mayor Jean Drapeau, a skillful and powerful urban politician, but also the mildly reformist MAG (Municipal Action Group) whose leaders include several former important RCM members.

Unexpected success.

The RCM, which was founded in May 1974, grew out of the labor councils of Montreal, the local organizations of the *Parti Québécois* and the New Democratic party and a grouping of local activists called the Progressive Urban Movement.

The goals of the RCM were vaguely socialist and explicitly decentralist. Its program stressed popular participation in decisions, and this was reflected in its own decentralized structure. The main decision-making body between annual congresses was a general council composed of three elected delegates from each district plus the members of the executive. Of the RCM's elected city councillors, only three have a vote on the general council.

The program had promised reforms, such as the development of public transit and co-operative housing, and stressed the creation of neighborhood councils. The RCM attacked speculation even to the point of pledging to municipalize land.

In the November 1974 election, Mayor Jean Drapeau's Civic Party candidates for city council amassed 50 percent of the popular vote to the RCM's 45 percent. Drapeau himself drew 55 percent against the RCM's Jacques Couture, a community organizer and lay priest, who took 40 percent of the vote. The Civic Party elected 36 councillors, the RCM 18.

Only after the euphoria of its unexpected success subsided did it become evident to RCM militants that the program's sometimes incoherent language encouraged confusion. Candidates had frequently been hastily chosen, and some were unfamiliar with the party's program. Also, campaign strategy laid insufficient stress on the intent behind the proposed reforms. Not surprisingly, newly elected RCM councillors often were ill-prepared for public and media attacks that sought to portray a "loyal" opposition.

Moderates vs. socialists.

The inability or unwillingness of some councillors to translate specific issues into wider questions of class and power convinced many party members that before the 1978 election, the RCM would have to develop socialist goals and a socialist strategy. They deplored the "moderation" increasingly associated with several of the councillors, who viewed the party as a "coalition of oppositional forces." The councillors were not all anti-socialist (some privately admitted a personal commitment to socialism), but their goal of coalition led them to avoid potentially divisive questions.

Fearing that this would play into the hands of interests who wanted the RCM to become a traditional urban reform party, the executive decided to confront

The Movement nearly won city hall in 1974, but then it began bickering. The conflict was between socialist goals and quick electoral success.

the issue head-on at the 1975 congress.

In its report to the congress, the executive concluded that the RCM should openly declare itself socialist and adopt a series of measures to mobilize as a socialist party in the districts. But many delegates felt they had been given insufficient opportunity to consider the implications of such a move. They balked at a forthright declaration in favor of socialism, adopting instead a compromise position that spoke of the party's determination to implement "the most advanced elements of the program." Nevertheless, they did pass the proposed measures and elected an executive identified with the socialist position.

1975-76 saw the debate intensify. "Moderate" strategy was clear: end the theoretical arguments and get on with planning for the elections.

The December 1976 congress provided a field day for media sensation. Spurred on by on and off the record allegations by two of the most conservative councillors, the press warned of an attempted "takeover" by dangerous extremists.

The great showdown at the congress ended with a victory for the left. An explicitly socialist line was adopted and its proponents took the majority of executive positions.

Then the backlash ensued with a few well-publicized resignations and denunciations by three councillors and their supporters.

New Democrats jolt Conservatives

By Doug Smith

WINNIPEG

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC NEW Democratic Party (NDP) stemmed what many people consider to be a conservative tide in Canada by winning a landslide victory in October's provincial election in Saskatchewan.

In the past year the Conservatives defeated the NDP government in Manitoba and threw out the Liberals in Nova Scotia. Two days before the provincial election the Conservatives won ten of 15 seats in a group of by-elections that many observers thought was a mini-federal election.

In Saskatchewan, Conservatives were led by a colorful, if bizarre, businessman who told one of his hecklers, "Your ideas are as smelly as my shorts—and that's pretty smelly." Aside from his gift for bizarre comparisons, Dick Collver embarrassed himself by becoming involved in a series of lawsuits with his former business partners. As the case evolved such things as secret Swiss bank accounts that Collver said were to pay for his daughter's education came to light. The suit was settled out of court, but then Collver was sued by the Provincial Insurance Company.

Despite these liabilities, many people

felt that if anyone could pick off Allen Blakeney and the NDP, Collver could. When he was elected Tory leader, they did not have any seats in the legislature and had received only 2.1 percent of the popular vote. In 1975, the Conservatives won seven seats and improved on this with two by-election wins and by enticing two Liberals to leave what was beginning to look like a sinking ship.

The NDP fought a very hard and aggressive campaign against the Conservatives. One of their more controversial posters claimed "Collver conservatives want to tax the sick." The ad went on to say the Conservatives intended to wreck the province's free medical aid plan with the introduction of deterrent fees and by introducing a premium for Medicare.

Collver claimed these ads misrepresented his party's position even though many of its elected members had stated that universal medicare had failed. Some of them said many people in Saskatchewan would be willing to pay \$10 a day to go to a hospital.

Aside from an attack on the Conservatives, the major thrust of the NDP campaign was around resource management. In the past three years the NDP has been nationalizing the potash industry in Saskatchewan. Liberals and Conservatives said they would sell off these businesses

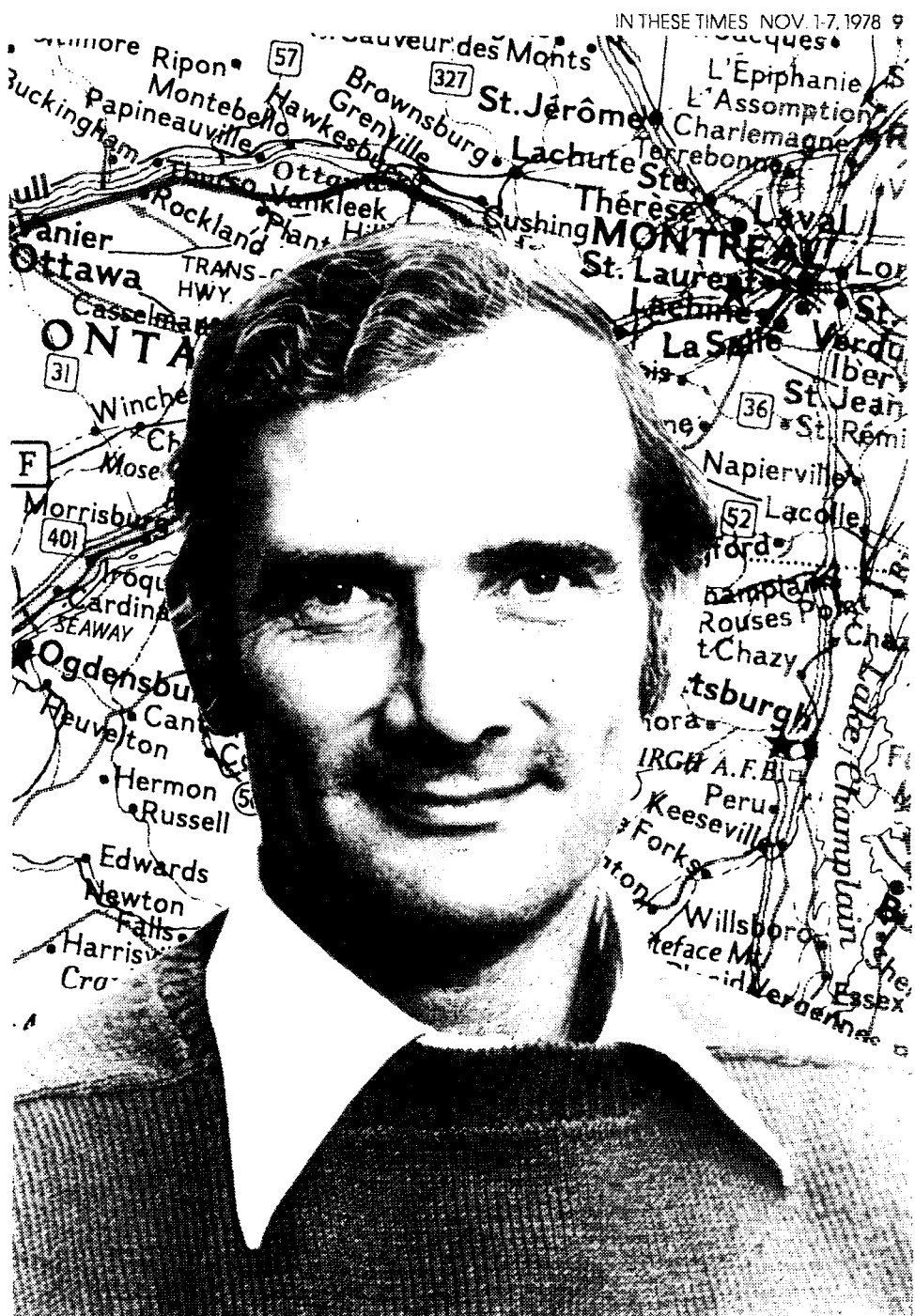
and take government out of business.

Also at issue was the future of uranium development in Saskatchewan. Saskatchewan has about 30 percent of Canada's uranium and could be producing a billion dollars' worth of uranium by the mid-'80s. The NDP and the Conservatives hotly debated the amount of control over these developments.

The NDP also had legal problems of its own since the Supreme Court of Canada recently struck down a number of resource taxes that the province has instituted, saying they did not have constitutional authority to impose them. While the opposition tried to say these were examples of the government's ineptness, many voters saw it as an example of the hated federal government interfering in the province's affairs.

The NDP picked up 44 seats and 48 percent of the popular vote. The Tories got 17 seats while the Liberals were left with none. The elimination of the Liberals completes a pattern of polarization that has taken place across western provincial Canada. There are now only two Liberals with provincial seats in the four western provinces. In two of them the NDP are the official opposition, while in Alberta they are the effective opposition.

Doug Smith is the Prairie Bureau chief for Canadian University Press.



The RCM is running urban planner Guy Duquette for mayor against incumbent Jean Drapeau. Now that the Olympic debacle is forgotten, Drapeau is favored.

New harmony.

Yet, by summer 1977, the party showed signs of extricating itself from its internal wrangling, not by renouncing its goals and analysis, but rather by applying them publicly to a concrete case, the location of the Namur metro station in northwest Montreal.

The RCM proved collusion between the administration and the large developer, the Campeau Corporation, in a decision to move the station to a less desirable location that favored the developer. Internal documents obtained and made public showed that the administration had also undertaken to build a 120-foot wide corridor from the metro station to the planned complex (which, in fact, never materialized) to be used as a shopping promenade

—all at public expense.

The December 1977 congress in many ways demonstrated the built-in tensions of its political position. It adopted a position viewing elections primarily as means of mass mobilization, since given the nature of capitalism, a socialist municipal government is, in effect, still in a position of opposition. The congress rejected attempts to soft-pedal the program, but at the same time refused to endorse "Leninist" efforts to define the socialist project rigidly and to build-in forms of centralized ideological control. The June 1978 special congress that drew up the electoral platform was marked by overall harmony. Dissident councillors Bob Keaton and Nick Auf der Maur and their supporters had left. The questions

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AUSTRALIA

Melbourne's wine, women, and whites

PART TWO

By William Appleman Williams

WENDY MARGARET TOMLIN and I enjoyed living in Australia. There are some nasty hills and murky swamps in that culture, but they can be navigated. Wendy has lived most of her life in cities (London, Montreal, and New York), while I am a sea person and a bit of a hermit at peace in our small cottage on the Oregon beach.

I knew and felt at home in the old Chicago, New York, and San Francisco, but in 1977 London was the only city I actively liked and enjoyed. So my homework on Australia left me a bit uneasy. After all, it is one of the most urban societies in the world: something between 87 and 93 percent of its total population of 14 million live in a very few cities along the southeastern coast. And we were going to Melbourne, the second largest: 2.4 million to Sydney's 2.7 million.

Before I continue, let me emphasize that basic population figure: 14 million people in a country the size of continental America, situated a long, long way from its cultural and economic allies. That is probably the basic truth about Australia, for it poses serious economic problems and sets severe limits on the political economy.

Some old friends found us a terrace house in the central city, and we were ecstatic from the first afternoon and evening. The slick sophisticates ("trendies" is the word in Australia) of Sydney scorn Melbourne as "a perfect 19th century city." True and delightful. Melbourne is remarkably like London in being a more or less random collection of villages, small factories, parks, trams, and communities of different convivial people.

Melbourne, for example, is the second largest Greek city in the world, and has sizable populations of Italians and Lebanese. That should tip you off: there are no supermarkets in the central city. We did most of our shopping by walking from the chemist to the butcher to the green grocer to the newsman to the corner catch-all to the Lebanese or Greek or Italian restaurant (or wine shop). So from the first morning we became part of a neighborhood. Our friends gave us flowers on the last afternoon when we invited them in for wine and cheese (only the wealthy can afford whiskey, and the wine is excellent).

Chauvinism and magnificent parks.

Our terrace house was built in the 1870s as typical housing for the workers in a nearby factory. It was 75 yards from a tram line and two blocks from an express bus run to the city shopping section. But we usually walked through or by a marvelously evocative cemetery on the way to the university or the market. When we took the tram we quickly made friends with those who used it at the times we did, and also learned about one of the darker aspects of the culture.

The male chauvinism in Australia is terrible to behold—let alone experience—and it cramps and squeezes the life out of young women. But along about 30 the women become simply marvelous, and stay that way the rest of their lives. Proud, independent, exuding presence, and often strikingly attractive. The pubs are the castles of male chauvinism, and the citadels of the Australian devotion to drinking and gambling. They will drink to anything and bet on everything.

Now and again you find a pub that has been integrated by women. I became an accepted member of one pub about 300 yards from my office at the university and I learned to wait until 2 p.m. for lunch. At that witching hour about 15 women, aged 35 to 65, dressed for an outing, would walk in and take over. Wendy



Left: Queen Street, in the fast-growing financial quarter of Melbourne.
Right: The Australian Sware Tower, Australia's tallest building.



Australian male chauvinism is terrible to behold. It squeezes life out of young women.

thought it was the best seminar I ever attended.

But the general attitude toward the aborigines and Asians is perhaps even worse than the male chauvinism. Only some 120,000 original Australians survive (most of the population was literally gunned down in cold-blooded raids), and they are treated as we deal with our few first Americans. And the deep antagonism toward Asians prevents white Australians from dealing more effectively with their fundamental economic problems.

One finds no aborigines and few Asians in Melbourne's five magnificent parks that surround the central city. They are delightfully large open spaces for flying kites, women's athletic clubs, sailing, community and pick-up sports, and just lying in the sun. There is also a respectable zoo, a deceptively excellent art center, much free music, a river for rowing, a bay for sailing, and a biological garden that calms your soul as it excites your mind. Wendy and I walked through one of them at least once a week.

Then there is the Victoria Market. It covers four or five huge city blocks in the very center of the city. Whatever you want, it is there. Fresh or properly aged. Just out of the sea or off the hoof (grass fed and no preservatives) or out of the ground that very morning. Wendy and I shopped there once a week, and often went a second time just to wander and talk and enjoy.

Old England and Americanization.

Beyond the central city, Melbourne suffers from suburban sprawl (reputedly even further than Los Angeles), but the important point is that the central city is alive and well. And our three visits to that nether region took us to the homes of unusually interesting people: a third generation nursery gardener, a teacher who lived with and taught handicapped children,

and a truly magnificent jazz bassist who was also the head of a dental supply firm of his own creation.

We also had the good fortune to travel a bit. To the east, Canberra and Sydney are well along to Americanization. Sydney is visually the most beautiful port in the world, but its central city dies each day at 5 p.m. The famed opera house is magnificent from the outside and a total disaster within. Canberra, the Australian Washington, D.C., displays magnificent liberal fascist architecture and the appropriate politics.

Adelaide to the south offers a self-conscious bit of old England. The art center is not as visually exciting as the Sydney opera house, but it works and it is used every day by all age groups. And there is a sculpture of an aboriginal on his haunches letting a bird fly away amid jets of water that is the most evocative and erotic bit of bronze that I have ever seen.

Far to the north we found something of the American South. The climate, the coral reefs, the blacks far more visible, and the sense that Australia would come to terms with those matters or dribble away into success *a la* Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston. As one might anticipate, the politics of the north are extremely conservative and sickly corrupt—the gerrymandering, for example, would shame any American professional.

Then westward to Perth and Fremantle. Almost enough to make one believe in the myth of the frontier. A lovely setting on the Swan River highlighted by a truly emotional desire to preserve the charm of the port—another central city area alive and well. As with Melbourne, I could live there with great pleasure. But for a government that callously manipulates the popular self-consciousness and desire for great autonomy or even independence to further the bargaining power of the multinational that own the land and its wealth. And the government.

Back home in Melbourne, I had a long, friendly, slightly boozy lunch with a star of Aussie Rules Football. He is tall and lean and quicker than a computer—off the field as well as on. He plays mostly for the fun of it. He tells me that maybe one player per team (a total of 12) makes his living as a jock. Maybe \$15,000 a year. The rest hold steady jobs and get paid on a per-game basis, with some extras tucked into palms after a particularly good performance.

The game is marvelous. A beautifully fluid, crazy, wild, and imaginative combination of basketball, soccer, punt-pass-and-run, and an ancient Celtic outing—all played on a cricket pitch which is about twice the size of our football field. Eighteen men on a side, four 25-minute quarters, no time-outs, no huddles, two substitutions, and constant motion. (A perfect counterpoint to cricket, which I also came to appreciate as a subtle and dangerous game.) When played well, footie flows like the sea.

That word footie bespeaks a marvelous Australian (and aboriginal) way with the language. Once I tuned my ear, I loved talking with Aussies—even if they were spouting nonsense—for the way and rhythm with words. Perhaps it says it all about the culture: you like it for the right reasons and dislike it for the right reasons.

And finally home via Fiji. Never in my life have I seen so many beautiful people. Wendy stares at the women and I stare at the men. Not jet-set beautiful but visceral beautiful. The men wear calf-length skirts with a casual confidence and elan that provokes Wendy to say: "Now I know why I abhor pant suits." A bit like kilts.

Maybe it is time we self-determined ourselves as skirt-wearing socialists. Now that is a frontier that offers many possibilities.

William Appleman Williams is Professor of History at Oregon State University and president-elect of the Organization of American Historians. He is the author of *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire*, and, most recently, *Americans in a Changing World*.

ELECTION
78

IS THE PARTY OVER OR JUST BEGINNING?

BY JOHN JUDIS

•Nebraska, a traditionally Republican state, will have two Democratic senators if, as expected, Gov. J.J. Exon defeats Donald B. Shasteen in the Nov. 7 election. But Exon is not your typical Northern Democrat. He describes himself as "moderate-conservative," and he opposes full employment legislation, labor law reform, and national health insurance.

•Nationally, the president's party is supposed to lose 36 House seats and four Senate seats in a midterm election, but this year the Democrats are expected to win one Senate seat, and lose no more than ten House seats.

•Business, which used to regard the Republicans as its party, is giving 73 percent of its corporate donations to Democrats this year.

•In Chicago, there are less registered voters this year than there were in 1931, the previous low year.

* * * * *

During the '30s, the last great turning point in American politics, the Democrats, long the party of Southern Bourbons and urban ethnics, welcomed labor, minorities, and some enlightened businessmen into its ranks. These groups tentatively agreed to use the state to limit the ravages of the Great Depression.

The Republicans, once the majority party, lost their base among white workers and blacks. They became divided between old-time Progressives and laissez-faire conservatives.

Some Northern Democrats dreamed of joining their Republican counterparts in a new left-wing party, while conservative Republicans harbored hopes of winning the Southern Bourbons to a right-wing party.

But the threat of communism and the benefits of expanded state spending kept business and labor, Northerners and Southerners together. The Democrats remained the majority party; Cold War liberalism became the dominant post-war philosophy; and an expanding budget became one answer to capitalism's woes.

But in the sultry '70s, the Cold War lost its lustre; and the economy sagged. With profits suddenly threatened by inflation, uncertainty, and glutted markets, businessmen turned to pre-1932 remedies for help—keep wages down and cut state spending except when it directly aids business. The alliance between business and labor has begun to disintegrate. Cold War liberalism has lost its meaning. And expanded budgets are no longer the agreed solution.

Without a shared philosophy and an accepted remedy, politics has become fragmented, and politicians have become suspect. Single issues are the order of the day. And among the general public, which can no longer perceive alternatives in party promises, interest in politics wanes. Less than 20 percent of the eligible voters will turn out for this November's elections.

Superficially, the Democrats have not suffered from this decline in party politics. On the contrary, their formal political power has increased. Instead of the party fragmenting, it has initially stretched itself to accommodate different potential fragments.

A case in point: the Watergate Democrats. These Democrats, elected in traditionally Republican districts during the 1974 anti-Watergate landslide, were expected to lose in 1976, when the dust from Watergate had cleared. But instead, Democrats like Indiana's Floyd Fithian, Colorado's Pat Schroeder, and New York's Edward Pattison have survived by adjusting their politics to their districts. Each year, their ratings with labor and Democratic liberal organizations have gone down. But where they have lost labor support, they have picked up business support. (ITT, Mar. 8.)

Another case: right-wing Democrats. In some states like Minnesota and Massachusetts where liberal alliances had formerly dominated state politics, a new breed of right-wing Democrats have unseated liberal opponents. In the Nov. 7 elections, both Minnesota's Ed Short and Massachusetts' Ed King will be to the right of their Republican senatorial opponents.

The Democrats have increased their voting strength, but they have become progressively more diffuse and divided a political party. The tie between candidate, platform, and constituent groups has become increasingly tenuous. Minnesota's Democratic Farmer-Labor party, which is Minnesota's Democratic party, would not even endorse Senate nominee Short after he had defeated Don Evans.



Illustrations by Tom Greensfelder

Continued on page 12.

During transitional periods, one pattern of American politics is for one of the major parties to give rise either directly or through offspring to a new dominant party (the Whigs-Republicans in the 1850s, the Democrats in 1932). Right-wing Republicans like New Jersey senatorial candidate Jeffrey Bell think the Republican Party will evolve in this manner. (ITT, April 19.)

In the long run, as a new party system develops, the Republicans may become the American Tories or the Christian Democrats. But in the short run, the new right strategy is only further isolating the Republican party. By attempting to turn the Republicans into a disciplined, ideological European-type party, they limit its ability to bend with the political wind. And they imbue it with a laissez-faire outlook that has long ceased to command majority support.

For instance, a moderate Republican like Gov. Richard Ray probably could have defeated Iowa Senator Dick Clark, who was having trouble defending Jimmy Carter's farm policies. But Lt. Gov. Roger Jepsen (vote for the right Republican, he said in his primary campaign) has pulled the usual right-wing boners on subjects like social security, and Clark is now favored.

As the Republicans make themselves more marginal, American politics is increasingly becoming a one-party system in which the critical races and debates occur within the Democratic Party rather than between it and the Republicans.

Business has adjusted to the '70s more speedily than its former allies. Corporate political action committees see Republicans as increasingly irrelevant and have sought instead to influence Democratic incumbents in their favor.

When Washington congressman Mike McCormack, a Watergate Democrat, voted against the situs picketing bill, he lost much of his labor support, but corporate PACs easily picked up the slack. In 1976, labor contributed \$15,000 to his campaign; in 1978, only \$3,800. But corporations have dished out \$22,000.

Labor unions have begun denying their funds to "faithless Democrats." Machinists president William Winpisinger cut off all Democrats who supported the natural gas bill. United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser called a conference Oct. 17 to create a new alliance to remake the Democratic Party. (ITT, Oct. 25.)

But labor has found itself between a rock and a hard place. The New York AFL-CIO initially decided not to back Watergate Democrat Ed Pattison, but then changed its mind, when faced with the alternative of Pattison running without labor support or his right-wing challenger winning. Major black and women's organizations have responded by adopting a non-partisan pressure group approach. Blacks like Chicago's Jesse Jackson have called for treating the Republicans as a legitimate object for black pressure. In Massachusetts, NOW is backing Republican Edward Brooke because of his abortion and ERA stands even though his Democratic opponent is generally preferable. In doing this, these groups have adopted an increasingly defensive posture toward party politics.

Some political commentators have fixed upon the present decay of the parties as a sign of ultimate degeneration—the end of the party system and its replacement by show-biz oriented candidates with slick media advisors and no particular programmatic bent.

But politics tends to reflect alliances arising from succeeding periods of capitalist development. As a period of development falters, so do its alliances, and its party system.

The next period of capitalistic development will undoubtedly require greater, not less, state intervention in the economy. As the world slump continues, American business leaders will finally have to let the state redirect their huge surpluses into productive investments. This degree of state intervention is still anathema to American business.

It is unclear what will be the alliances and the political system appropriate to such a new stage of capitalism. It may bring about political parties similar in outlook, but not in organization, to Northern European ones: a social-democratic party led by labor and a pro-business party that would vie over the kind of state economic planning that is needed.

Some commentators also see this transitional period as evidence of a historic shift to the right. They point to the recent Congress, as well as to the victories of Short in Minnesota and King in Massachusetts.

In elections, there has definitely been a trend rightward, but it doesn't reflect overall popular sentiment. In the '70s, only two groups have become noticeably more politically active: business and the right wing.

Business PACs now number nearly 1500 compared to less than 100 in 1974. Of the top five contributors to the 1978 elections, four were right-wing organizations, led by Ronald Reagan's Citizens for the Republic. The single "non-right" organization, which came in fourth, was the American Medical Association's PAC.

The combination of low voter turnout among traditionally Democratic constituencies and increased busi-

ness and right-wing activity has helped tilt elections and candidates toward the right. A recent *Denver Post* poll showed that among all eligible voters Democrat Floyd Haskell was leading heavily-financed right-wing Republican William Armstrong in the senate race, but that among likely voters, he was trailing Armstrong.

Among the general public, there is no trend to the right. Sen. Ted Kennedy, an outspoken liberal, remains the most popular political figure in the U.S.

There is a conservative trend on social issues—something that invariably accompanies economic hardship and insecurity. But a *New York Times* poll showed that the same people who thus describe themselves as "conservatives" often support full employment legislation and national health insurance.

There is also continuing hostility between whites and minorities over such issues as busing, affirmative action, and welfare expenditures. But unlike previous periods, it is much more mixed with anti-corporate sentiments.

The result cannot be labelled "right" or "left."



TAXES: BUSINESS TAKES INITIATIVES

The tax revolt will not affect Democratic-Republican races, except possibly in Oregon. Most Democrats have simply climbed aboard the bandwagon, as they did with the law-and-order issue in 1970. "You show me a case where a candidate is openly for raising taxes, and I'll show you a case where the tax revolt makes a difference," election expert Norman Orenstein quipped.

The local leadership of the tax revolt remains largely in the hands of small-business types, who have a historic commitment to shrinking government. In Oregon, Nevada, Idaho and Michigan, Prop. 13-type property tax cuts will be on the ballot.

The traditional Republican big business approach has been to attack spending, not taxes, since lower taxes without lower spending usually means larger budget deficits, higher interest rates, and higher prices. These corporate types have consequently countered with spending limitation initiatives that hold spending at some percentage of state income. Such initiatives will be on the ballot in Michigan, Illinois (purely advisory), Arizona, Colorado, South Dakota, Texas and Hawaii.

The only measures that will not immediately favor business and apartment building owners over everyone else are being sponsored in Massachusetts, Arkansas and North Dakota. In Massachusetts, unions and Massachusetts Fair Share are trying to keep the rates on residential property taxes lower than those on corporate property. In Arkansas, ACORN has sponsored an initiative eliminating the sales tax on food and medical supplies. And in North Dakota, a cut in personal income taxes and an increase in corporate income taxes is being proposed.



NEW RIGHT: LOSSES CAN BRING GAINS

Within the right wing, there has been a dispute between the economic conservatives like Buffalo congressman Jack Kemp or New Jersey senate candidate Jeff-

UNION RIGHTS AND THE ERA

In Missouri, the National Right-to-Work Committee, aided by local business, has placed a right-to-work initiative on the November ballot. If it is passed, 3,000 contracts affecting over 500,000 workers would become invalid because they insure union membership of new employees. Missouri is the eighth-largest industrial state, and a victory for right-to-work there could threaten workers in Illinois and Oklahoma, as well as nationally.

In Nevada, one of the states that has not passed the ERA, the voters can

advise the legislature on the November ballot whether or not it should pass it. Also on the ballot is a measure repealing a Nevada law that prohibits women and people engaging in duels from holding public office.

GOD AND SEX VIE FOR VOTE

In Oklahoma's Democratic Senate primary, Gov. David Boren was accused by Anthony Points of being a homosexual. Boren dismissed the charge as "so utterly ridiculous, so untrue" that it was not worth further comment. But the day after the primary, he went on televi-

re Bell and the social-religious fringe that goes after gays, feminists and school prayers. But in terms of the Republican future, both groups have a common goal of transforming the party into their own.

In November, their efforts will take two different forms. First, they will try to knock off moderate Republicans: Edward Brooke in Massachusetts, Charles Percy in Illinois, and William S. Cohen in Maine. In the Maine senate race, independent new right candidate Hayes Gahagan may snatch a fairly certain victory away from Cohen by splitting the Republican vote.

Second, they will try to win on their own. These are some of the main races:

Senate: Jeffrey Bell (R) vs. Bill Bradley (D) in New Jersey; William Armstrong (R) vs. Floyd Haskell (D-inc.) in Colorado; Gordon Humphrey (R) vs. Thomas J. McIntyre (D-inc.) in New Hampshire; Roger Jepsen (R) vs. Dick Clark (D-inc.) in Iowa. Only Armstrong is ahead here.

House: The two brothers of right-wing presidential candidate Philip Crane (R-Ill.) are both running for congress: Daniel B. Crane (R) is taking on Terry L. Bruce in a southern Illinois district vacated by its Democratic incumbent. David G. Crane (R) is taking on incumbent Watergate Democrat David W. Evans in an Indiana district. Both stand a chance.

Governor: New Hampshire governor Meldrin Thomson's popularity has plummeted since he backed a 10 percent surcharge on utility bills to pay for Seabrook's construction. But his opponents, Hugh Gallen (D) and Wesley Powell (Ind.), may simply divide the anti-Thomson vote.

Even if the new right does poorly in these races, it will not be destroyed. Whether or not Bell or Armstrong lose, their primary victories have already put their forces in control of the state party apparatus.



THE SOUTH: VOTERS HAVE REAL CHOICE

The South is the only part of the country where political participation is not declining, and where the general electoral trend is not rightward.

Since 1896, when the Populist movement was choked off and both blacks and poor whites were disenfranchised, the South has played a predictable and secondary role in American party politics. Even the great rebellion of 1948, when Dixiecrats bolted and opposed Harry Truman, failed to stop a Democratic victory.

But the South has changed. It no longer simply furnishes food and raw materials to the North. It has industrialized, and the manufacturing or service worker, rather than the share-cropper or small farmer, now makes up the bulk of the Southern labor force.

Industrialization weakened racial barriers that the Southern civil rights movement then tore down. Race is no longer the dominant issue in Southern politics. In fact, politicians of both parties court the black vote.

Like Northern states of the '20s and '30s, labor and welfare are becoming the main issues in the South. In the Arkansas Democratic senate primary, Gov. David Pryor made Rep. Guy Tucker's support for labor law reform the main target of his successful campaign. Tucker still made a credible showing.

While right-to-work laws usually remain sacred, politicians are now eyeing the labor vote. A Mississippi Democratic senate candidate went after the AFL-CIO's endorsement, and it was later seen as a factor in his

sion to swear, with his hand on the same Bible that had been used for his gubernatorial inauguration, that he was not now, and never had been, a homosexual.

The new chairman of the Oregon Republican Party is Walter Huss, a 60-year-old fundamentalist minister, who used to publish the right-wing *National Eagle*. Huss is now bent on giving Oregon's once-liberal Republican Party a "new direction."

Upon taking office, Huss announced that he preferred Republican candidates to be Christians. Victor Atiyeh, the party's Syrian-born gubernatorial candidate, called for Huss to retract his statement.

"The problem is not one of faith but of historic values," Huss replied. "Portland has a Jewish mayor and a Jewish-controlled press, and Jews are well represented in the system. One of my best friends is a Jew—Jesus Christ."

In Maine, independent right-wing Senate candidate Hayes Gahagan fired his campaign photographer for doctoring a Gahagan photo to increase the candidate's sex appeal. According to Gahagan, the photographer had subliminally written the letters S-E-X on his knuckles in the photo.

(Thanks to Congressional Quarterly, Washington Post, and The Baron Report for these stories.)

upset primary win over Gov. Clifford Finch. Ten years ago, it would have been seen purely as a curse to be avoided.

How the South goes politically will decisively shape American politics. If a pro-labor left emerges that can unite with its Northern counterpart, it will be a major impetus to the formation of a left in the Democratic Party.

In the 1978 elections, there are several right-left choices. None of these, except perhaps for some Carolina races, break down into a clear choice between labor and business, but they go in that direction.

Senate: In North Carolina, John Ingram (D), who has labor support, is going against Jesse Helms (R), the right-wing's "Dr. No." In South Carolina, Charles Ravenal (D) is challenging Strom Thurmond (R). Ravenal backed both labor law reform and the Panama Canal treaties. In Alabama, Donald Stewart (D), who made his reputation as a utility-rate fighter, is going against James D. Martin (R). In Mississippi, there is a three-way race for senate between Maurice Dantin (D), Thad Cochran (R), and Charles Evers (Ind.). Evers, who is conservative on social but not on economic issues, may take enough black votes to give the right-wing Cochran the nod over the labor-backed but conservative Dantin. In Texas, Robert Kreuger (D), labor-backed but a moderate at best, may upset right-wing leader John Tower (R).

House: In Columbia, South Carolina, Jack Bass, author of *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, has an outside chance against conservative Republican incumbent Floyd Spence. Bass is as much of a left-wing populist as one can find in the '78 elections. In Jackson, Mississippi, John Hampton Stennis (D), who follows his father on defense but not economic issues, is expected to edge out right-wing Republican Jon C. Hinson.

Governor: In South Carolina, liberal Richard W. Riley (D) is heavily favored. In Arkansas, ex-McGovernite Bill Clinton (D) is a shoo-in. And in Texas, John L. Hill (D) is somewhat to the left of the incumbent Dolph Briscoe, whom he defeated in the primary, and is definitely to the left of his right-wing millionaire challenger, Bill Clements (R).



NEW DEMS. IN ELEPHANT GARB

The Republicans need to gain ground in 1978, because 1980 is a reapportionment year, when legislative districts are re-adjusted to new population estimates. Whatever party controls statehouses and the governor's mansion can fit future boundaries to its political needs.

But party politics aside, many races this year do not admit a clear choice. In several northern Democratic races, the Republican is to the left of the Democrat. And in formerly Republican districts, it is the Democrats who are championing the Chamber of Commerce's program.

Some characteristic races to watch:

Senate: Edward Brooke (R) is facing Paul Tsongas (D) in Massachusetts. A Tsongas victory would make up for other liberal losses, but it would further isolate moderates within Massachusetts' right-wing dominated Republican party organization. In Illinois, Democratic challenger Alex Seith is getting right-wing support for his challenge to corporate-liberal Republican Charles Percy. In Minnesota, Republican Dave Durenburger is to the left of millionaire Democrat Robert Short. In Colorado, Democratic incumbent Floyd Haskell has national labor support against a strong right-wing challenge from William L. Armstrong.

House: Some Watergate Democrats might lose. In upper New York state, Edward Pattison (D) faces united Republican-conservative opposition from Gerald B. Solomon, which not even Pattison's apostasy on labor issues will be able to overcome. In Topeka, Kansas, Martha Keys (D), who in January voted against the consumer protection agency bill, faces a strong challenge from Jim Jeffries (R), who has made the Kemp-Roth tax bill the centerpiece of his campaign. In Orange County, Democratic incumbent Mark Hannaford, who supported the indexing of capital gains and the Kemp-Roth tax proposal, has business support, but he still may lose to Republican Daniel E. Lungren. And in suburban Chicago, Abner Mikva, who has maintained a surprisingly liberal record in spite of his district, may not be able to hold off John E. Porter's challenge.

Governor: In Massachusetts, Republican Francis W. Hatch Jr. is to the left of Democrat Edward King, who upset incumbent Michael Dukakis in the primary. In Oregon, incumbent Democrat Robert Straub has come out against the Prop. 13-type measure on the Oregon ballot, but still may defeat Republican challenger Victor Atiyeh. And California Democrat Jerry Brown and Illinois Republican James Thompson are expected to win easily over lackluster opponents, and in so doing, to bolster their presidential chances.

Some believe political parties are on their way to total decay, but with alliances changing it may open the way for a new politics.



EDITORIAL



Liberal decay and party realignment

The 1978 elections offer more evidence that American party politics are undergoing a basic realignment. The tell-tale signs lie less in what issues the party politicians are highlighting than in those they are avoiding. The politicians are dealing with symptoms—inflation, government spending, taxes, crime, abortion, and they are avoiding causes—the corporate investment system and the distribution of power among social classes.

In normal times, that is what major American parties are supposed to do. But in normal times, the general system of property and power generates consensus and a credible range of contention within which the major classes and groups find room for satisfying their basic interests.

What makes the present situation abnormal is that the party politicians are taking increasingly irrelevant positions at the same time that the property-power system is generating a disintegration of consensus. To more and more Americans—probably a majority—the major party politicians no longer offer credible alternatives.

For them to do so, they would have to be ready to deal with the central reality of American society—the corporate-capitalist organization of the political economy—and offer plans for overhauling or abolishing it. They would have to make the major issue of politics precisely the issue it is their accustomed job to “keep out of politics.”

In continuing to avoid that issue, the major parties are disqualifying the party system as a vehicle for solving America's basic problems. They are fettering society's capacity for democratic decision-making as well as its prospects for further social and economic progress.

The crisis of the party system reflects the crisis of a centralized, corporate society. In this early phase of the crisis, when the way out of it has yet to appear in a major party form, and when people see party politics as peripheral to their fundamental concerns, it is to be expected that electoral participation will dwindle.

But those who stop bothering to vote, as well as the poor, minorities, and the young—who have not begun, are express-

ing not so much an “advanced” awareness as a depoliticized impotence or a pre-political uncertainty. Staying out of electoral politics attenuates, rather than sharpens, the crisis, and strengthens the guardians of the status quo. Because of this massive abstention, election results can register a drift to the right even though polls indicate that most Americans reject right-wing ideology.

The missing link.

The democratic and socialist left is missing as a dynamic force in party politics. It is the element that, from outlook and interest, would force the issue of the corporate system into the center of party politics.

The politics of the 1930s-1960s revolved around a corporate-liberal “popular front” between labor and “progressive” capital, against the laissez-faire right; it sustained the corporate system with new government policies and changes in corporate behavior that gave labor a larger share of the capitalist pie. That program sufficed in the 1930s, when labor was weak, and later, when imperialist expansion kept the pie—including jobs and income—growing.

But today imperialist expansion is stalled or is exporting jobs and undermining income. And labor is incomparably stronger, though currently marking time. Liberal politicians, on the other hand, are moving to the right or deliberately distancing themselves from labor in order to succeed with a small and rightwardly biased electorate.

We are at a point in our nation's history when labor cannot defend its interests in alliance with corporate-liberals but only by breaking with capital over the control and working of the investment-property system. Without that occurring, party politics and, therefore, democratic forms of decision-making will continue their decay—a process that can only benefit the corporations at labor's expense.

Labor is not yet ready to break with the political norms of the decaying corporate-liberal consensus and remake the party system. But significant sectors of labor are moving cautiously in that direction, as indicated by the United Auto Workers-

Sh-h-h-h: We do our part

The President requests Americans not to discuss his anti-inflation proposals. He feels that if discussed they have no “chance to work.” To save free enterprise we should patriotically suspend debate and quietly obey. We do our part—we refrain this week from discussing the President's proposals. It's refreshing to see a President come right out and candidly admit that his proposals can't bear discussion. But we confess to being left speechless at Carter's startling new idea of democracy—free consent without free debate. In other countries it goes by another name.

sponsored political conference, by William Winpisinger's repudiation of liberal politicians, by the AFL-CIO's attacks upon corporate-liberal wage, price, monetary, and multinational policies, and by labor's search for allies to its left among women and minorities.

The organized left has also been holding out—either by abstaining from electoral politics or by not clearly defining the issue in the electoral arena as the obsolescence of capitalism and the need for democratic socialism. But there is movement there, as witness the Zolton Ferency campaign in Michigan, the Russ Christensen campaign in Maine and tendencies in California's Campaign for Economic Democracy.

New strategies for old.

The old strategies suited to the old party system are visibly not working for labor, blacks and other minorities, women, and other working people. Coalitions with “progressive” corporate interests or liberal reform elements within the Democratic Party, rewarding liberal “friends” and punishing backsliders, and applying competitive pressures on both major parties are yielding increasingly diminishing returns.

As labor and the left find that without a basic restructuring of party politics it loses on one issue after another in Congress and in state legislatures and referenda, caution may give way to bolder initiatives.

New strategies are bound to follow. First and foremost, rather than supporting or punishing traditional party politicians, labor and the left will have to start running its own candidates for office on

platforms that raise the issue of a public investment system displacing the corporate. A new generation of political leaders will have to emerge.

Second, the electorate will have to be expanded—and transformed—by bringing the millions of poor, black, and young who now don't vote into the electoral arena.

Third, to mobilize this constituency and ally it with labor and the left, new forms of political organization will have to replace clubhouse and silkstocking politics: For example, people's assemblies in wards and districts, that formulate social goals and propose implementation through public institutions and other programs that go beyond the limits of capitalism. Such assemblies might run candidates on their social goals platforms. They might become the nuclei of a new party politics.

The 1978 elections are significant precisely because they express the further decay of the old party system. The Republican Party is coalescing around a smaller popular base with a parochial ideology. The Democratic Party has become a melange of bloated incoherence. Both prevent American society from dealing with its fundamental issue—the obsolescence of corporate-capitalism—and leave power ever more concentrated in the corporations themselves and a centralized state.

The alternatives are continued decay and rightward drift or a new party politics. But without a new political involvement of the left, and especially labor, the prospects for a new party politics is dim and with them the prospects for self-government as a political system in America.

RICHARD L. SKLAR

Zimbabwe politics turns on control of transition to new order

IAN DOUGLAS SMITH, PRIME MINISTER OF RHODESIA, CUT a curious figure during his fortnight in the U.S. He postured as the soul of reason and moderation, menaced by revolutionary extremism and Western betrayal. Smith's performance in this role would have been more credible if his political career prior to September 1976 could be forgotten. Until then, his name was synonymous with the cause of white supremacy in Rhodesia. Pressured by the U.S. and South Africa, he grudgingly agreed to accept Henry Kissinger's hastily contrived plan for majority rule. Since the failure of Kissinger's effort, Smith has tried to reconcile his own reluctant acceptance of majority rule with the desire of his white followers to preserve as much of their power and as many of their privileges as they possibly can. His present position is tenable only because white expectations have been eroded by the mounting strains of guerilla warfare.

Last March, Smith united with three conciliatory African leaders to form a supreme Executive Council for the country. Each member, in turn, presides as chairman, and all decisions are taken by consensus. Two of the three Africans are acknowledged heroes of the struggle for a free Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia). One, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, was in a Rhodesian prison four years ago for allegedly conspiring to assassinate Smith. Only three years ago, Sithole aspired to lead a guerilla army based in Mozambique. Another member, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, was endorsed by the Front-line Presidents (Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia, Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana, Samora M. Machel of Mozambique and Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania), in 1974, as nominal leader of the entire Zimbabwe freedom movement.

Since 1977, however, the Front-Line Presidents (including, by then, Agostinho Neto of Angola) and the Organization of African Unity have backed an alliance (called the Patriotic Front) headed by two other leaders, namely, the erstwhile "moderate," Joshua Nkomo, and the avowed socialist Robert Mugabe, who is also a practicing Catholic. Consequently, Muzorewa and Sithole have lined up with Smith.

Slowly but surely, Smith has become a counter in the grim contest between African factions. This development is not surprising in a country of 6.7 million people, of whom all but some 250,000 are black Africans. But the character of the contest is obscured in the U.S. and elsewhere by the partisan or naive use of misleading political labels that evoke emotional responses, such as "moderate" and "constitutionalist" on the one hand, "radical" and "Marxist" on the other.

Ethnic basis of politics.

In order to analyze the conflict in Zimbabwe, one must understand the ethnic and sectional bases of the main political factions. Approximately 80 percent of the population is Shona-speaking. The Mozambique-based Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) relies mainly on recruits from the largest of four distinct Shona groups, namely the Karanga people of south and southeastern Zimbabwe. ZANLA also recruits effectively among the Manyika people of eastern Zimbabwe and the Zezuru people of northern Zimbabwe. Indeed, Mugabe, ZANLA's chief political spokesman, is identified with the Zezuru. However, the most influential Zezuru leader is probably James Chimurema, formerly Nkomo's deputy, now chief deputy to Bishop Muzorewa. The widely popular Bishop, himself, is the favorite son of his Manyika

people, apart from being president of the country's United Methodist Church.

In western Zimbabwe, a fourth Shona group, the Kalanga, and another important linguistic group, the Ndebele, provide recruits for the Zambia-based Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), whose political spokesman is Joshua Nkomo. The political wings of these separate armies—ZANLA and ZIPRA—have combined to form an expedient and fragile "Patriotic Front."

China has trained and equipped ZANLA, while the Soviet Union and Cuba have built up ZIPRA. By far the greater number of active guerillas belong to ZANLA. For its part, ZIPRA is reported to have created a conventional military force that could be used to consolidate power in the event of a chaotic transition to black rule.

Joshua Nkomo is the dean and wizard of Zimbabwe politics. Since his release from detention, which he (like Mugabe and Sithole) endured for ten years, in 1974, he has been supported by Zambia, Angola, the Soviet Union and the two main multinational corporations in Rhodesia. Smith has also tried to bring Nkomo into a reconstituted government. However, Muzorewa has far better relations with Mugabe, whose "radicalism" does not seem to frighten the Bishop. In fact, Mugabe has been criticized by his own followers for his failure to seek Soviet support. He is probably reluctant to become a Soviet client because he cannot afford to alienate China if he means to preserve the autonomy of his own movement.

Wary of one another, the leaders of the Patriotic Front are obviously willing to negotiate with other parties. Nkomo's secret meeting with Smith, in August, provoked Mugabe to endorse an Anglo-American call for an all-parties conference. Smith appears to have parleyed with Nkomo without consulting his fellow members of the internal Executive Council. Well-informed Zimbabwe watchers anticipate the early demise of both alliances—the external and the internal. The next time Smith barnstorms abroad, his boon companion could be Joshua Nkomo.

While all these politicians gyrate feverishly at the edge of catastrophe, the basic issues do not change. They involve the structure of transitional authority, control of the armed forces, and minority safeguards.

Key issue.

The key issue today, as in 1965, when Smith's government rebelled against British rule, is this: "Who shall control the transition to a new political order?" One year ago, the British and American governments told Rhodesia to swallow her colonial medicine and purge herself of illegality. They proposed the appointment of a British general officer, Field Marshal Lord Carver, to preside over a six-month transition to independence. Perversely, the Salisbury "gang of four"—Muzorewa, Sithole, Smith, and Senator Jeremiah Chirau (a spokesman for Chiefs, who are appointed by the government and normally toe the line)—formed their

"Executive Council."

Meanwhile, the Patriotic Front, choking on the bone of Carver's proposed authority, nonetheless offered to make room for him in a transitional governing council. Now that Britain and the U.S. have belatedly accepted the idea of a ruling council, both sides—the Patriotic Front and the internal government—can face up to a real challenge: The council should include persons who truly represent the major communities, both racial and sectional, that make up the nation. The arbitrary exclusion of any major community's real leadership spells repression and probably rebellion.

On the issue of military security, the Patriotic Front and the internal government are poles apart. Each insists upon the adoption of its own force as the core of a national army. Britain and the U.S. have proposed the creation of a new military force that would absorb selected elements of the existing armies. If agreement can be reached on the composition of a governing council, Lord Carver might be appointed to serve as chief architect of the new army. In addition, the Patriotic Front has agreed to the deployment of a UN peace-keeping force during the transition, which Smith and his co-leaders have thus far opposed.

Minority safeguards.

Finally, on the sensitive question of minority safeguards, the "internal settlement" is less than realistic. First, it gives the white community—less than 4 percent of the population—a grossly disproportionate number of seats—28 in a Legislative Assembly of 100—for a minimum period

of ten years. Second, it confounds white communal interest with party interest by reserving eight of those seats for white members of the present House Assembly, all of whom belong to Smith's party.

Thus far, the Patriotic Front has been reluctant on principle to spell out safeguards for minority groups. However, the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement envisage the creation of an international trust fund, to be managed by the World Bank, that would be used to ensure property against the threat of confiscation, to finance development schemes, and to facilitate the flow of foreign investment.

This proposal has been sharply criticized by elements of the Patriotic Front on the ground that it would fortify white privilege and obstruct radical changes of the economic system. Those who hold this view say that they have not fought to replace a system of crude racial domination with a capitalist form of class domination.

Regardless of the merit or defect of the trust fund or "safety net" for whites, its proposal does tarnish the avowed role of the U.S. as an "honest broker" with no partisan axe to grind. Ambassador Andrew Young has said that Britain and the U.S. have based their joint efforts to achieve a settlement "on the principle of participation by all factions." This concept, rather than the reimposition of colonial rule or the provision of dubious economic guarantees, defines the true task for American diplomacy.

Richard L. Sklar is a professor of political science at UCLA. A version of this article has appeared in the Los Angeles Times.

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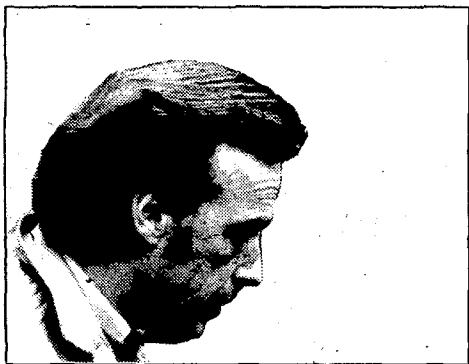
HANS KONING

Another Third World: Homeless in the land of the free (press)

A NUMBER OF THIRD WORLD countries are complaining about the world press; it is dominated if not run, they say, by the few Western news agencies. UNESCO has taken up the argument, but what goes on in that body is rarely considered newsworthy by the American media. However, as the issue of press freedom seems to be involved, a number of commentators in this country have considered the complaint.

The complaining countries are all much too poor to sustain competitive free enterprise newspapers and if they would set up a parallel news service, it would, without a doubt, be governmental or semi-governmental. Thus it comes easy to American journalists to see this whole issue as a third world—if not Marxist—attack on the freedom of the press in the West.

Actually, considered this way, whether from the point of view of a Zambian weekly or from *Newsweek*, both premises and conclusions are all false and irrelevant. The issue is not that readers in



the West are only told about the third world when there's a natural or manmade disaster to report. No agency or UNESCO resolution can make our broadcasters and editors give space to items which just do not interest our public.

The real issue is that the western media are free—and I am not minimizing that blessing—but their freedom means (only): free to do what they want. And what they want, wittingly or unwittingly, is to look at the world from a highly limited, narrow base, the base of the tiny minority in this world of secure, well-fed upperdogs who consider our brand of corporation-run

democracy, with property sacred, and "free enterprise" as the opium of the people, the natural order of things.

Everyone of us who had participated in a protest action of the '60s and read the following morning what our serious newspaper said or didn't say about it, knows that there is an uncovered third world right here. It isn't a question of subject matter, it is a question of point of view. And no writer or broadcaster who does not really and basically believe in our Establishment, can dream of being allowed by our Establishment-owned media regularly to air his or her point of view in their service.

I am hardly even talking politics here. When I write "third world," I am not thinking of Sorbonne or London School of Economics-educated politicians with, or perchance without, Swiss bank accounts. I am thinking of all those men and women to whom the world is an inimical place, who know how it feels to be an underdog. That, to me, is the basic test and schism.

It so happens that I, through my World War II youth adventures, am one of the not so many white Westerners who have experienced that particular feeling. I'm not trying to romanticize myself; I want to establish that I know whereof I'm talking.

For this feeling has little to do with being poor, or being in danger. It's different from what happened to our GI's even in Vietnam; it's different from what our Irish or Jewish immigrants experienced on Ellis Island or New York's Eastside. On the other hand, it is precisely what black people, even rich and successful ones, experience; it's doled out at our welfare offices together with those rather fat checks.

It is a feeling that the world around you, your fellow human beings, would

just as lief do without you. And on our present-day earth where for the first time all communicate with all, all are seen by all, whole tribes and whole nations are faced with this feeling.

AP and UPI and the *New York Times* haven't got a clue about this. The *Times* may devote pages to the "hundred neediest cases" and it's nice to do so; but it obviously has nothing to do with what I'm concerned with. I recognize that the institution of the Op-Ed page in this and some other papers arose from a vague uneasiness that "the others" did not have their say; but those pages are now filled mostly by the papers' own columnists and when they publish an outsider he or she is rarely one of "the others." Unavoidably almost, for the very fact that they're published already singles them out and puts them apart.

Our own third world neither writes to newspapers nor votes in elections. They're written about only by sociologists and criminologists in the main, and they may get their picture in the paper if they loot a TV store—a precise equivalent of our news coverage of third world Africa, Latin America and Asia. We turned our backs on them, they have turned their backs on us. When our papers and broadcasters report on world events and the world's hopes and fears, they do not manifest one atom's awareness of the fact that our hopes may not be everyone's hopes, that they may be the very fears of millions and millions; and their hopes our fears.

There seems to be no touching of them and us, except in violence.

Or, in socialism.

Hans Koning is a novelist and former reporter-at-large for the *New Yorker*. His latest novel is *The Petersburg-Cannes Express*; his latest book of nonfiction, *A New Yorker in Egypt*, came out last winter.

NEIL KOTLER

The exhaustion of American politics and how to revive it

AS ELECTION DAY 1978 APPROACHES, POLITICS PRESENTS two very different faces. One is the appearance of spiritedness and involvement that surrounds single-issue crusades against abortion and gay rights, the determined drive of the women's movement to win ERA ratification, and the singular purpose behind the tax revolt. Yet a different political reality lies beneath the surface, a reality of massive public apathy toward, withdrawal from, and rejection of political life. The secular trend in voter turnout is one of steady and significant decline.

The 1976 presidential election, like the several preceding it, drew barely a majority of voting-age population. Only one-fifth to one-third of those eligible vote in state and local elections. In the most celebrated in recent years—the California tax referendum known as Proposition 13—fewer than half the eligible voters in the state participated.

While it can be said that virtually every segment of society is involved in special-interest, or single-issue politics (if only as the organized clients of advocacy organizations or bureaucracies), few are involved in the general politics that overarches special concerns (e.g., the politics of the environment that affects all of us; of full employment and price stability; of civil liberty and good government).

The accelerating disintegration of institutions that bound groups together in the past—parties, local machines, social programs, community ties—has led to an acute fragmentation of political life. While the mass public is withdrawn from public life, a relatively small number are intensely involved, though much of their emotion as well is increasingly hostile to the objects of public life. As the citizen body shrinks, the vested interests steal the thunder.

More than ever, citizens are cut off from the vital sources of political life, which at various times in the past served to induce participation. These consisted of one or a combination of party tradition and loyalty, community ties, familiarity with, and trust in, the character of candidates, and ideology. In the absence of such attachments, the public is left with little else than the personalities and egos of opposing candidates.

Though American parties have always been consensual rather than ideological, even their traditional bargaining and coalitional role has greatly diminished, as have their fund-raising function and programmatic responsibility. In the relatively small-scale governments of the past, citizens had far better means to judge the temper and character of candidates. Nowadays, politicians are essentially strangers to the electorate, whose origins and purposes are unknown, except for their merchandizing and media appeal, which seeks to transform their strangeness into trust and their rank ambition into civic aspiration.

Without attachment to party or traditional principles, those who take office have little basis for accomplishing significant outcomes which, after all, require

some measure of coalition and public support. This disintegration of institutional life leads irresistibly to a politics that is no longer anchored in higher purpose, edifying goals, or shared commitment, and that is plainly lacking in relevance to the felt needs of the majority.

This basic irrelevance is illustrated also by the composition of Congress. Sixteen black members and one Senator—3 percent of Congress—represent 22 million people, one-tenth of the population. There are only a handful of Latino and Mexican-American members, none in the Senate. The 96th Congress that convenes in January once again will have no women in the Senate; fewer than 4 percent of the House are women. An analysis of social class composition would, of course, yield an even more outrageous distortion of the general population.

An objection might be raised that American politics is doing what it has always done, and this is to have politicians broker and aggregate the numerous conflicting particularistic interests. The problem with this view is that those who happen to be organized in interest groups and for electoral activity represent only a tiny fraction of the citizen body, special-interest politics cannot create the necessary consensus and support upon which the system depends, and the outcomes of government will continue to alienate greater and greater numbers of citizens.

At the very least, a democratic system requires a supply of innovative social and economic ideas, citizen support, and organized energies. The fragmentation of parties and coalitions, and the nearly total shutting out of those social forces that normally would create a climate for social change and reform has exhausted the supply of creative social ideas.

The gross unrepresentativeness of governmental institutions and the growing amount of financial resources devoted to special-interest issues have weakened to a great extent the moral basis of citizen support. The organization of those diverse energies so necessary to a democracy has been critically impaired by the narrowness of the electorate. Without a significant expansion of the citizen base, the system will become ever more rigid and those seeking social change, even more exhausted of resources than they are now.

The dispiritedness of the left cannot be overcome simply by the ever-increasing number of leadership meetings that bring together left constituencies for the purpose of determining the prospects of unified action. A citizen force outside of the existing institutional structure of parties and local and state coalitions has to be developed. The women's movement and the neighborhood movement are the most impressive candidates for forming the bases of that new force. The one has already amply demonstrated its political effectiveness; the other, its ability to mobilize hitherto excluded citizens into the political process.

They and the other constituent groups have to extend their organization at local and state levels to counteract party and machine structures. They have to raise the resources to assist new groups. The articulation of a common program might follow, and produce a national citizens and communities congress in 1980, perhaps the beginnings of a new political force.

Neil Kotler is a legislative aide on Capitol Hill specializing in social and economic policy.

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PERSPECTIVES

Liberals must choose: Serve the corporations or serve the people

THIS COLUMN IS ADDRESSED TO MINNESOTA LIBERALS, but applies to liberals throughout the U.S. I write as a radical activist, one of your illegitimate sons and daughters of the 1960s. We have been as unwelcome at family gatherings as our grandparents, the Farmer-Laborites, whom you banished from the homestead in 1948. A family reunion of the democratic left in Minnesota is long overdue. But this reconciliation will proceed only if we move beyond liberalism. ¶Don Fraser's defeat exposed serious flaws in the Minnesota liberalism of

Humphrey, McCarthy and Mondale. Neo-conservatives like Bob Short are manipulating these weaknesses, and voters' authentic resentments, to spread a right wing populism. Only by developing an anti-corporate populism can progressives counter this, and create an agenda for a new majority in the 1980s.

Economic growth and prosperity had shrouded liberalism's tragic contradictions for nearly a quarter century. But the economic crunch of the '70s has pushed liberals to the wall: corporate liberalism can no longer attempt to serve two masters. While posturing as champions of reform and social justice, liberals have become the handmaidens of corporate priorities and private greed; while posing as advocates of participation and democracy, liberals have become pawns of corporate planning and private power. The day of reckoning is at hand.

The Fraser defeat and Proposition 13 represent the "politics of resentment." What are the implications of this trend? It does *not* mean that voters are becoming right wingers, mean-spirited and selfish, ready to dismantle government, racist and anti-poor, rescinding public programs.

It does mean that the average citizen's sense of fairness is deeply offended. Liberalism, at the expense of the vast majority, has extended rights and benefits to the corporate rich and crumbs for the poor. People are outraged by the paternalistic and self-righteous manner in which liberals set and carry out public policy.

A new majority is expressing its resentment by joining the only alternative game in town—neo-conservative politics and know-nothing economics.

For five weeks liberals have exhibited the "4R&4D" Syndrome. Some are filled with Rage and Resentment, seeking Revenge and planning Retaliation. Others are suffering from Depression and Disillusionment, open to Defeatism and Dropping out.

Yes, Bob Short ran a vicious and dirty campaign. Yes, Republicans shamefully crossed over and voted Democratic. Yes, single issue fanatics distorted the political process. Yes, the Wendell Anderson crowd helped get Fraser. Yes, Bob Short bought a lot of votes.

Rather than pausing by the stream of politics and reflecting on the character defects of the New Deal, liberals are muddying the waters by blaming everybody else for polluting the pond. Rather than extracting the beam in liberalism's eye, they are pointing out the speck in their neighbor's. Rather than acknowledging that they live in the glass house of welfare statism, liberals continue throwing stones at passersby.

The people may be voting for the wrong programs, candidates and parties—but for many of the right reasons. To call Minnesota voters greedy hayseeds, dumb bumpkins and selfish hicks, is moral blindness and elitist arrogance. The real reasons

for the Fraser defeat, and a possible Republican sweep in November are painfully obvious: "disgraceful" taxation, runaway inflation and the white elephant of government bureaucracy, waste and corruption.

Don Fraser rightly claims that neo-conservative politicians "play the middle class, hard hit by inflation, against the poor, and turn back the clock on social legislation." Bob Short and the new right politicians, in exploiting the legitimate grievances of working and middle income people, are proposing programs that will make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. This was true in California with Proposition 13.

But who caused this situation? Since liberals took over the Democratic Farmer Labor Party 30 years ago, they have led the charge to create the welfare state. New Deal capitalism has expected the middle third of society to pay not only for the poor that the corporate economy excludes, but to provide government subsidies for

oil corporations, real estate developers, the health care industry, agribusiness and other corporate interests.

From 1950 to 1974 corporate taxes fell from 23 percent of total federal revenues to 14 percent. During the same period the portion collected from personal income taxes rose from 31 to 40 percent.

The basic necessities—food, energy, medical care and housing—are increasing in cost at a 12.6 percent annual rate. Liberals have been too timid to take on the corporate giants in these industries. While they are out raping and pillaging the pocketbooks of the American public, lobbies for energy corporations, agribusiness, real estate interests and the American Medical Association still have a cozy relationship with a liberal Democratic Congress.

Even though liberals have created social programs to insure citizens' social welfare, they allow the private sector to administer many of the programs with poor service and self-profit. The small amounts of charity that liberals are willing to dole out to the weak, sick and lame are provided in a way that breeds dependency and fosters self-contempt.

The rash of scandals and exposures of theft, waste and inefficiency in governmental operations have appalled the average person. It is time to stop explaining away these horrors, and time to rethink and retool our public administration of the people's business.

A recent Gallup Poll shows that those of us definitely "left of center" account for 17 percent of the electorate, while the solidly "right of center" is 23 percent. The broad "middle of the road" make up 36 percent, while 17 percent have "no opinion." This means a pool of 53 percent, a majority of citizens, are open to persuasion about the major public policy questions of the 1980s.

To create an alternative agenda for the 1980s liberals must end their commitment to corporate-government. An important test for Minnesota liberals is whether they can participate in citizen movements for economic democracy, and return government to the people by following this grassroots democratic leadership. In Min-

nesota there are numerous struggles from which liberals are conspicuously absent: control of utility rates, public ownership of power, anti-nuclear battles, rent control, cooperative housing, ending real estate speculation, neighborhood autonomy, progressive tax reform, food co-ops, saving the family farm, alternative health care, anti-powerline struggles, runaway shops, community-owned and controlled enterprises and increasing worker participation in management.

Redistributive economic reforms are meaningless without redistribution of other forms of power. If reforms are carried out in an individualistic, elitist and centralized manner, they will become part of the problem they are meant to solve. The core of an anti-corporate populism is democratic control of social, economic and political institutions; common people can be empowered in new cooperative, participatory and decentralized organizations. An unresponsive governmental bureaucracy is as undemocratic as private domination of the economy.

Within or without the DFL, the democratic left must forge a new majority that includes the poor, working and middle classes; a political movement of farmers, laborers, taxpayers and consumers. To carry out this task, we can learn a lot from the old Farmer Labor Party of the '20s and '30s.

The FLP created a political movement by listening and responding to the needs of common people. This movement helped citizens translate their personal troubles into public issues. Not above or separate from the daily struggles of Minnesotans, the FLP was a vehicle for the people's participation in solving their common problems.

Minnesota liberals cannot serve two masters: they must choose between the corporate elite and the vast majority of citizens. By learning from the people, corporate liberals can become anti corporate populists.

Monte Bute is active with the Farmer Labor Association (FLA). He works as an organizer with the Minnesota Tenants Union in Minneapolis.

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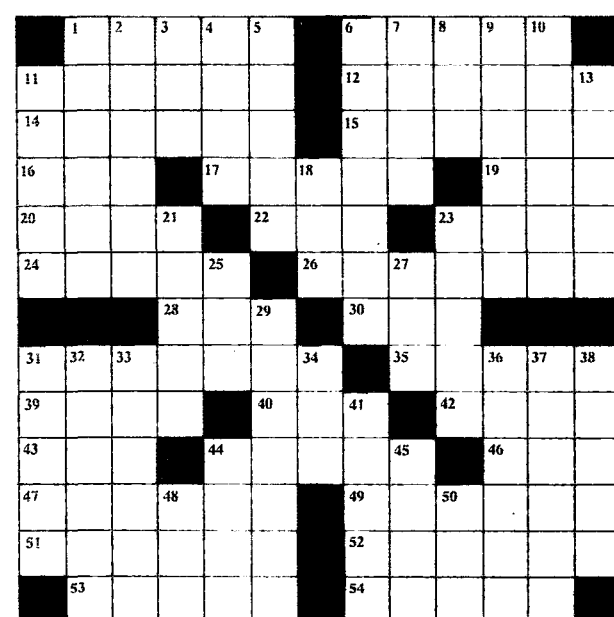
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Solid Interlocks

by Jay Shepherd

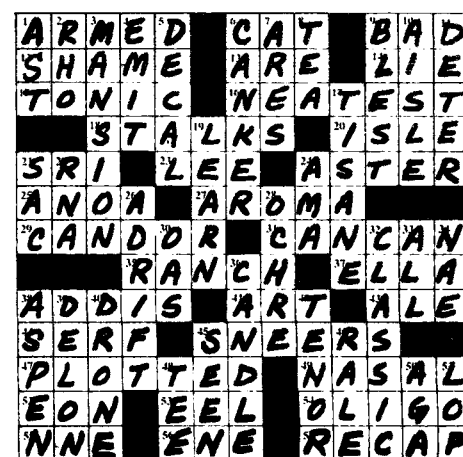
ACROSS

- 1 Leggings
- 6 Degree
- 11 Football player's protection
- 12 Inmate
- 14 Idle
- 15 Record again
- 16 RR stop
- 17 Sidedish
- 19 Legal matter
- 20 Camper's equipment
- 22 52, to Tacitus
- 23 Word with hot
- 24 Mother of note
- 26 Designate
- 28 Dolt
- 30 Help!
- 31 Dappled
- 35 Relating to John Paul II
- 39 Units of land
- 40 Scarlet
- 42 Etna's output
- 43 SST concern
- 44 Beliefs
- 46 Butterfly catcher's gear
- 47 Designer Cardin
- 49 Protracted speech

DOWN

- 1 Sofa
- 2 Flexible
- 3 I love, to Virgil
- 4 Hardy girl
- 5 Tiptoe
- 6 Airs
- 7 Played golf
- 8 Monet's forte
- 9 Turkish inn
- 10 Annual
- 11 Welcoming people
- 13 Remainder (Fr.)
- 18 Pinocchio's nemesis
- 21 Short blasts
- 23 Rope material
- 25 Singer King Cole
- 27 Spinning item
- 29 Polecats
- 31 Punishes
- 32 Like Pollyana
- 33 Weasel relatives
- 34 Sandre or Ruby
- 36 Type of hat
- 37 Photographer Richard
- 38 Afterwards
- 41 Inhibit
- 44 Ontario tribe
- 45 Singer Martin, to friends
- 48 Soak, as flax
- 50 Zodiac symbol

Answer to last week's puzzle:



Montreal socialists

Continued from page 4.

had become more concrete, and more difficult. After all, the task was now to devise the socialist project for the city in practical, every-day terms.

Unavoidable problems.

In retrospect, RCM's internal divergences reflect problems that urban socialists in a city like Montreal cannot possibly avoid. Fundamental to RCM's urban socialism is community control. Because of this, efficiency and even coherence have at times been sacrificed to decentralization, a centralized party structure not being consistent with a "communitarian" socialism that places primacy on the expressed needs of working people rooted in the neighborhood.

Union socialists in the RCM also emphasize building a socialist base among Montreal's workers. Any move to "purge" these groups from the party would contradict the commitment to the principle of community control. The other alternative—abandoning activity in all Montreal

neighborhoods where a genuinely rooted socialist base is not yet to be found—isn't very attractive either, since that would serve only to abdicate its responsibilities toward political education and eliminate the party from active participation in the municipal arena.

The upshot is that militants have learned, sometimes painfully, that what they saw as pitched ideological battles between two sides were more often conflicts inherent in the very nature of the party and its objectives, and the positions taken by individuals more often resulted from the position they occupied in the party and the district in which they worked than from some fixed doctrinal position. It remains to be seen whether the party has gained the maturity to handle fundamental divisions and contradictions next time—a time that can be expected to come when it accedes to power, as it may do on Nov. 12.

Henry Milner is the author of *Politics in the New Quebec* and the regular IN THESE TIMES correspondent in Quebec.

Rizzo's racist try

Continued from page 9.

have been worse—they could have endorsed him. They have in the past."

Free TV.

A most important aspect of the campaign for left electoral politics is the free TV and radio time the Stop Rizzo Coalition has gotten. David Kairys, attorney for the coalition, explains: "We sent letters to the radio and TV stations, explaining that under the fairness doctrine if they run ads supporting one point of view they have to provide time for opposing views. So, we got a lot of invitations to talk shows. And now that there are more and more Rizzo ads for charter change, we are getting free air time for ads of our own."

Whether or not this Philadelphia election leads to permanent left unity, it may have changed some organizations' outlook. Rizzo is now losing in every recent poll taken—by two or three to one. It's

hard to resist the euphoria of winning an election, and hard to forget the experience of working well together. The Stop Rizzo Coalition is not a marriage, just a date. But the 200,000 new voters, most of them from minority wards that have voted against the Democratic organization, means that the electorate itself has shifted to the left.

"You should see these folks come in here," says Tully. "The leadership thinks participating in this election is intellectually justifiable, because of Rizzo. The members, they walk around asking people to register. They're starting to see a different side of their own community, a side of organizing that they may have ignored before. And they're getting good at working it. Nuts and bolts. That's all it is. Nuts and bolts. And do the shitwork. Politics in this country is up for grabs."

Jim Quinn is associate editor of *Philadelphia Magazine* and frequently reports on Philadelphia for the *Washington Post*.

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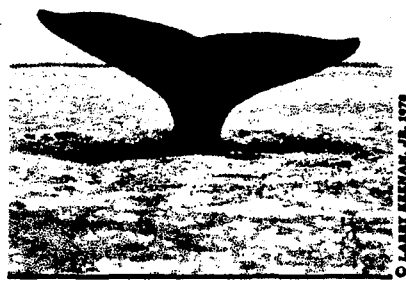
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

WOMEN & SPORTS

By Anita Diamant

THIS WAS BOSTON'S SECOND Bonne Bell race. The cosmetic company sponsored fourteen 10,000-meter races for women around the country and in Canada this year, and for the second time the "national championship" was held in the home of the Big Daddy of distance running—the Boston Marathon.

This Bonne Bell could legitimately be called the Big Momma of women's running. At 4,350 women, it was the biggest women's sporting event ever. The previous record was last year's Bonne Bell in Boston which drew a mere 2,300.

The race seems to have matured into a serious, world class event. No longer cutely called a "mini-marathon," there were fewer tasteless jokes from the podium and less use of the word "girls." Announcements were generally limited to reports of the runners' progress. And the mechanics of the race were very well organized—it took only two and a half minutes for all the runners to cross the starting line.

Columbus Day in Boston was perfect for running—cool, dry and sunny. The route was flat and the start wide. It was an extremely fast field. The winners of all the other Bonne Bells were on hand, but it was a race for all of the 200 top seeded runners, said Jess Bell, company president and running nut.

Joan Benoit, a student at North Carolina State took top honors with a world record breaking time of 33.15. Two native North Carolinians, Ellison Godall and Mary Shea, won second and third place, respectively. Benoit, a native of Cape Elizabeth, Me., is a member of the Liberty Athletic Club, the impressive New England Track club that also produced the first and second place winners of last year's Bonne Bell.

The winners' circle in a race of this size seems terribly small. Every runner had a story with a happy ending this year. Everyone who started the race finished.

Joan Benoit received a wreath of laurels and a trophy. Polly Wilson just went home with a great big smile.

Wilson, a woman in her sixties, had sneaked out of her house to run. "I put on my clothes to go to work this morning and then changed them in a little turn out on the road so no one at home knows where I went."

Warming up to run by herself, Wilson was thinking of her daughter who ran in last year's race. "She's in Boulder. She got an application blank and said to send it in. She's the only one who knows I'm running in this race. It's a secret."

Although the Bonne Bell was her first race ever, Wilson isn't as new to running as most of the women stretching on the Boston Common around her. "I started jogging before the rest of the world started, but then I broke my leg. I've only been jogging a couple of months now."

"I think it's fun and exciting," she said cheerily, and then confided, "I'm scared. I didn't sleep last night and all that."

Many of the women I spoke to had a clear idea of how fast they hoped to run. Runners were seeded by their own estimate of their finishing time. Wilson wasn't thinking about speed, though. "I have a finishing goal. And I'd like to not come in the absolute last. But I probably will."

Polly Wilson was pessimistic about crossing the line 6.2 miles later and planned to inform her family of her adventure only if she succeeded. "If I do [finish], I'll tell them. If I don't, I won't. I'll just cry quietly in the corner."

Polly Wilson had a secret race, but most runners came with support. A team of squealing seven-year-olds drove up from the Cape. Women trailing friends, co-workers, lovers, parents, sisters, husbands and kids stretched and psyched up side by side. For many, a picnic accompanied

Women run to compete, for fun

The youngest runner, six years old, held her mother's hand.



Photos by Nora Tringale, Peggy McMahon and Sid Huang

the main event. Strangers chatted and everyone was smiling. It was a pleasant crowd of 10,000 people.

Barb Bergeron from upstate New York was in Boston for her third Bonne Bell of the summer. "One in Buffalo, one in Toronto, and here. I really enjoy the Bonne Bells." Bergeron came alone, though "there are a few other runners from Rochester. I met one other friend from my track club and we kind of prepared for this together."

Like many of the women I talked with, Bergeron has her sights set on even longer distances. "I'm hoping to work towards a marathon, but probably in Buffalo to start. So I'm taking a year to prepare for that." A jogger for ten years, Barb Bergeron started racing only this summer.

New experience.

Susan Dudley is newer to the whole notion of sports than Bergeron. She started running in May and was shooting for a race of 50 minutes. "I've never done an athletic thing in my life until I started running and felt all the good things from being physically fit. It's a whole new experience for me. Other people I guess have known those feelings since school, but I never did."

For neophytes and old hands alike, though, racing is a relatively new experience for most women. Like many runners at the Bonne Bell, Barbara Murdock had her husband to thank for an introduction to the pleasures of the day. Murdock's been running in her home-town race in Winchester for seven years, but even for her, "it's only recently, in the past year, that I've gone out and done other races. I did the Beverly women's race and one in West Roxbury and Falmouth."

Murdock was there with her husband and two of her four children. The baby is 14 months old, but this was his second Bonne Bell. "I ran in the Bonne Bell last year when he was eight weeks old. My time wasn't very good."

"I didn't run while pregnant. I felt well during my pregnancy, but just couldn't get into a running habit."

At least one Bonne Bell finisher did feel well enough to run in her fourth or fifth month. Seventy-seven year old Ruth Rothbaum finished in an hour and a half. The youngest runner, a six-year-old, ran the race with her mother, sometimes holding hands "when it got a little rough." And Polly Wilson finished—far from one of the last.

The Bonne Bell races exemplify the women's sports boom in its many incarnations. The races offer women some of their few chances to compete in well-run, carefully timed, AAU-sanctioned all-women events. Distance running remains a step child. The upcoming Olympics still don't have any distance event for women over 3,000 meters scheduled.

A Bonne Bell race means that top competitors can meet in a field of peers and challenge one another to new records. It means that a woman will win the race—not just post the best time for a woman. It's an inspirational showcase for fine, amateur athletes.

But as well as being world class sporting events, complete with TV coverage and corporate sponsorship, the Bonne Bells resemble the "fun runs" that local track clubs now hold for all kinds of runners virtually every weekend all over the country. A Bonne Bell is a celebration of fitness, strength and independence from the passive, restrictive physical images of the past. And nobody is excluded.

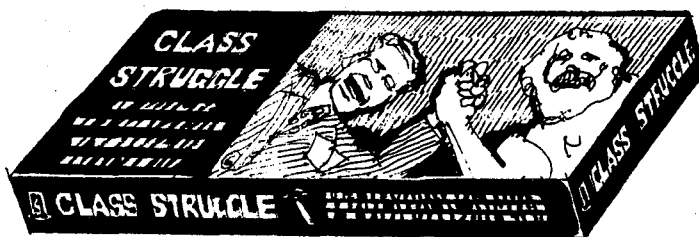
The message is loud and clear: Running isn't just for an elite class of super athletes. And competition isn't limited to the trophy winners. Women are still sprinting at the finish line even after 55 minutes. This is sport for everyone—and above all, it's fun.

Anita Diamant writes regularly on sports for IN THESE TIMES.

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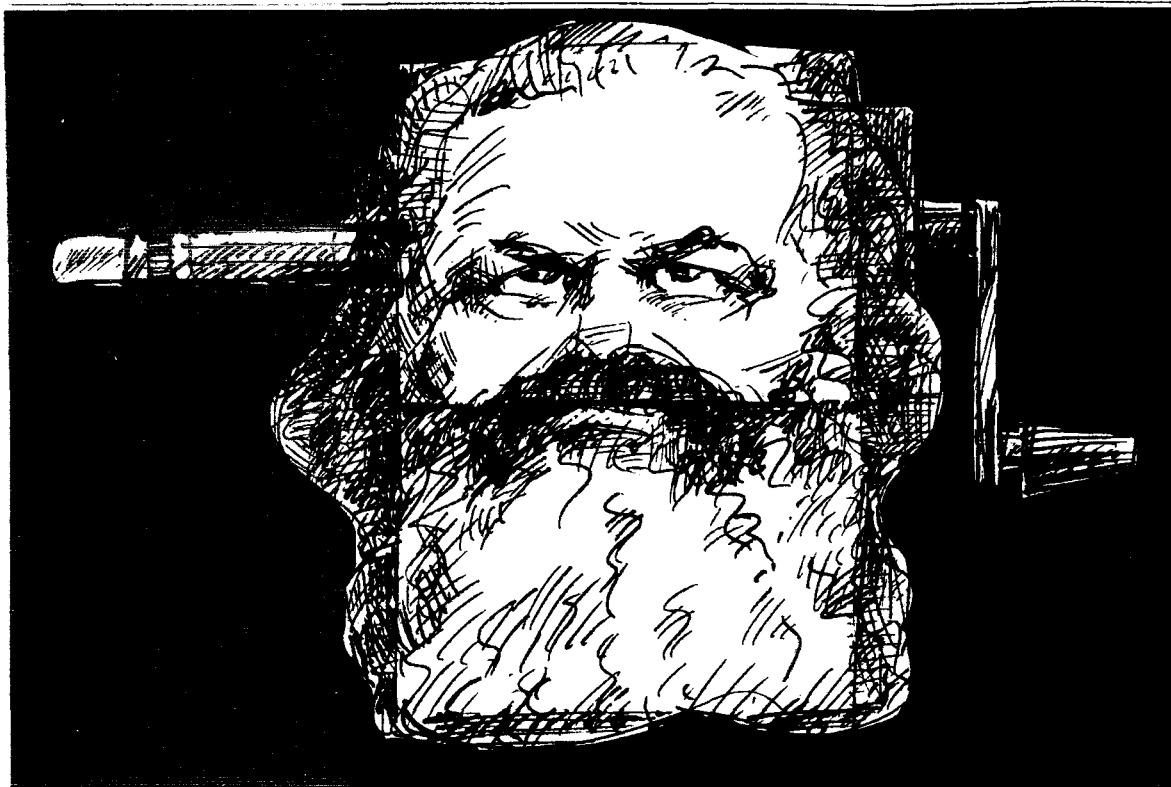
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Karl Marx meets the novel

Marxism and Literature
by Raymond Williams
Oxford University Press, 1977,
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Raymond Williams has been writing literary criticism from an English socialist point of view for more than 25 years, but this book marks a departure for him. Particularly when taken in conjunction with his Raymond Chandlerish novel, *The Volunteers*, which came out this year, it shows us Williams developing, changing, experimenting, almost playing variations on himself. And that's more remarkable than it may appear, for Williams has stood out among contemporary writers for his Mount Rushmore integrity: unchanging, unplayful, an embodiment of resistance.

Seen as an event in Williams' career, this book is important because he so long balked at Marxism. The book is, however, very interesting in and for itself. Williams wants, as his main idea, to study literature and culture as kinds of material production.

He divides the book into three parts: Basic Concepts, Cultural Theory, and Literary Theory. The first part discusses four of the crucial terms in the argument to come: culture, language, literature, and ideology. He shows us that the term culture itself embodies the tensions of the industrial revolution and the reaction against that. He shows how the term became specialized. As a noun of inner life, he says, it came to be limited to the arts and philosophy. As a noun of general process, it was limited to "whole ways of life." The first meaning played a crucial role in defining the arts and humanities, and the second in the social sciences, but they were out of touch with each other.

Next Williams turns to what Marxism contributed to the idea of culture, most importantly the stress on material history—"the most important intellectual advance in all modern social thought." But Marxist theory also left culture in the "superstructure" of society, in the world of effects, while causes occurred at the material "base."

Marxism and culture.

The second part consists of ten

short chapters on important Marxist terms in cultural theory. Williams objects to the base and superstructure concept as misleading. He reinterprets the idea of determining laws, to mean not rigid limits but pressures in certain directions. He makes "productive forces" cover political, social and cultural forces as well as industrial. And so on.

He also reviews, criticizes, and incorporates later Marxist cultural theories. Williams is most impressed by Gramsci's idea of hegemony—the interlocking of political, social and cultural forces which imposes an ideology on a whole society and determines the character reality has for it.

The third part presents ideas useful in discussing literature from a Marxist-Williamsish point of view. Thus he would like to put the tiresome and misleading question "Is this fact or fiction?" into a series which includes "What really happened? What might (could) have happened? What really happens? What might happen?" (All these questions should be asked about imaginative literature, and when the first one is placed in the series, it loses its power to paralyze discussion.) He would also like to change our idea of "author," with its antithesis to "audience" and "society." Instead he wants us to see ideas as originating from forces at work in many people at the same time.

Virtue and loyalty.

In *Culture and Society* (1958), Williams addressed Marxists from a distance, asking them to show what benefit they derived as cultural critics from their special doctrines. Williams himself was brought up in the British Labour Party and Trade Union movement (his father a Welsh railwayman) and his sense of loyalty to that past is very strong.

Virtue to him has always meant resistance, and Marxism was one of the things he resisted. In his novels, *Border Country* (1962) and *Second Generation* (1964) he dramatizes family situations close to those he himself knew, and the resolution in both cases is an act of solidarity by the young, university-educated intellectual with all that his father represents. In the former novel the father dies, and the son becomes the father.

There are elements of conflict between the young man and his parents, but the stress falls clearly on closeness and on the transmission of a heritage so substantial it feels like an identity.

The image of virtue in both novels is an image of persistence, of obstinacy, of resistance. In both cases (and implicitly in Williams' theoretical books) virtue is defined by contrast with corruption. Of two men, one makes money, turns phrases, cuts a figure, changes; the other remains as he was; and the second is the figure of strength (strength and goodness are synonymous for Williams) to whom the other must come to sue for approval or forgiveness for each new venture.

Avoiding brilliance.

This inner dialectic makes itself felt in Williams' criticism in a certain dour inexpressiveness; an avoidance of the brilliant phrase, a distrust of eloquence and epigram; an impersonal substantiation of his ideas by redefinition (often in a highly abstract vocabulary) and by historical research which subverts established opinions—all this charged with anger underneath but superficially inexpressive.

This book is no more open, intellectually or emotionally. It is a very hard book to read. But the word revolution now seems to mean something less equivocal than it has in the past in Williams' mouth. The introduction begins "This book is written in a time of radical change" and its theme is that international Marxism has been renewed by the work of the last 20 years.

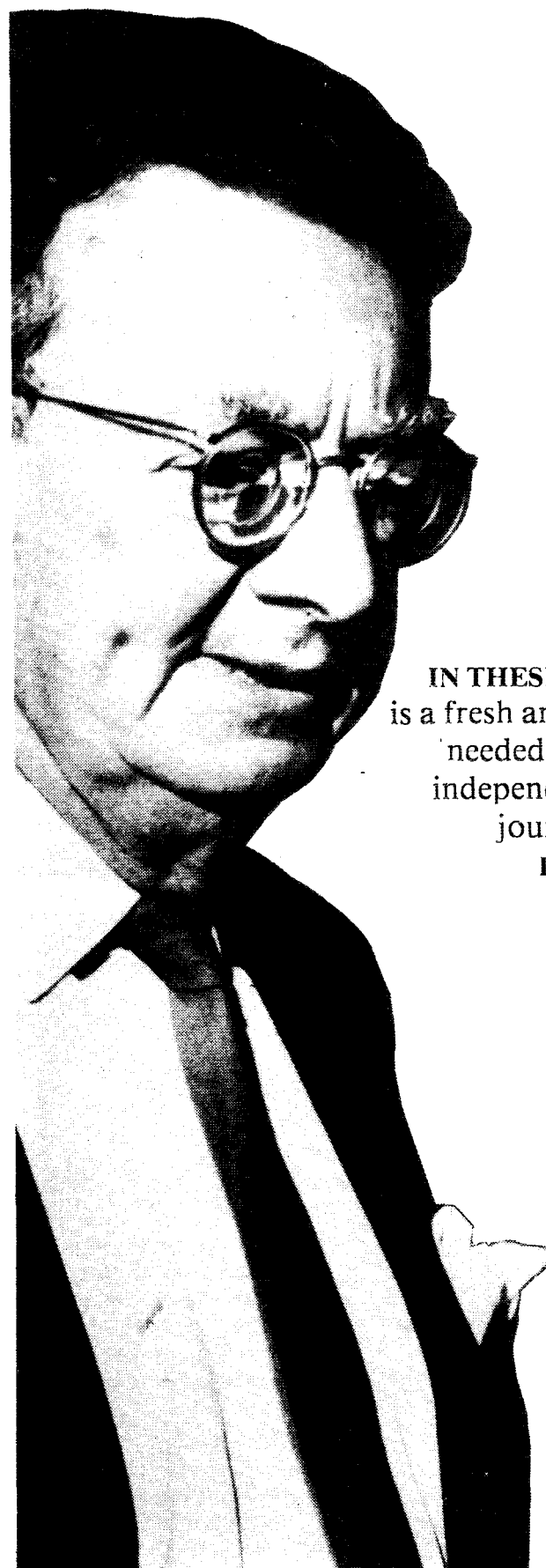
One might object that Williams has only found a way to interpret Marx to mean what he himself has been saying all along: that all evil derives from breaches in community, and all our efforts must be bent to healing such breaches. But the book arouses far more than objection. This and his new novel together prove—in their different ways—that Williams' mind is moving, experimenting, changing. When such a massive integrity begins to move one can expect great things. *Martin Green teaches English literature this year at Tufts University.*

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Kihn's rock sound—diverse enough for several audiences, featuring hard rock and strong melodies—is very popular throughout Western Europe. It hasn't yet caught on here, except in the S.F. Bay area. It should soon; his melodic exuberance is hard to resist.

"ROCK FAN"/"CAN'T STAND LOSING YOU"

The Police (A&M)
These British singles are among the most exciting rock songs I've heard all year, as was their "Fall Out" in 1977. Recommended unreservedly if you want to catch the latest Wave. When will A&M here get around to promoting a U.S. tour and album?

COMES A TIME

Neil Young (Reprise)
Is it possible that the reknowned writer/guitarist/singer of songs

such as "Ohio" could turn out an album of vacuous folk mush? Yup.

LIVE AND BURNING

Son Seals (Alligator)
Third album by one of the most dedicated young urban blues guitar men. The Seals band is here at peak, playing to a packed house at Wise Fools Pub in their native Chicago. Seals, A.C. Reed (sax) and Tony Gooden (drums) interact at a length the studio forbids.

IF I'M LUCKY

Zoot Sims and Jimmy Rowles (Pablo)
Pianist Rowles, master accompanist, here pairs with tenor saxophonist Zoot Sims (George Marz on bass, Mousie Alexander on drums), making one of the most enjoyable recent mainstream jazz albums. Easy listening sound belies the complexity of Zoot's light swinging touch and Rowles' dynamic comping.

HEAVY LOVE

Al Cohn and Jimmy Rowles (Xanadu)
Al Cohn (long-time tenor partner of Zoot Sims) works a hard sound and aggressive approach against Rowles' choppy chords and bouncy keyboard runs. This duet session swings less than the Sims-Rowles date, but the tension

between the two improvising musicians fascinates.

LIVE AT THE NEW SCHOOL

Earl Hines (Chiaroscuro)
Solo live performance by this important jazz pianist, "rediscovered" in the '60s. Hines' two-handed improvisation still dazzles, and he goes on experimenting, pushing beyond traditional approaches to swing and stride piano.

TRACKS ON WAX

Dave Edmunds (Swan Song)
Edmunds confirms with his



San Francisco Mime Troupe

Theater

The San Francisco Mime Troupe is back, touring the country with their play, *False Promises/Nos Enganaron*. The play dramatizes resistance to U.S. imperialism at the turn of the century; scenes range from Colorado mines to Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The schedule (call local sites for times):

Nov. 2, 3, 4	Washington, D.C.	Ontario Theater.
Nov. 7	Medford, Mass.	Cohen Auditorium, Tufts University
Nov. 8	Boston	Hancock Hall
Nov. 9	Durham, N.H.	Memorial Union Bldg., Univ. of N.H.
Nov. 12	Boston	Hayden Hall, Boston Univ.
Nov. 15	Buffalo, N.Y.	Fillmore Room, SUNY
Nov. 17	Syracuse, N.Y.	Salt City Playhouse
Nov. 18	Ithaca, N.Y.	Dailey Hall, Cornell Univ.
Nov. 20-22, 24-26	New York	Intermedia, 189 Second Ave.
Nov. 28	Lawrenceville, N.J.	Lawrenceville School for Boys
Nov. 29, 30	New Haven, Conn.	University Theater, Yale
Dec. 1	Philadelphia	International House
Dec. 2, 3	Baltimore, Md.	Shriver Hall, Homewood campus, Johns Hopkins

second LP for Led Zeppelin's Swan Song label that '50s rockabilly is more than a fad for him. Unlike Robert Gordon, Edmunds freely plays with the genre, introducing rock and new country rhythms.



Scott Hamilton

SCOTT HAMILTON, 2

(Concord Jazz)
Why listen to a young white tenor player, emulating late black jazz giants Lester Young and Ben Webster, when original recordings are still around? Because Hamilton brings a fresh voice to a nearly-extinct musical style and promises to continue the tradition of small-group ballad interpretation.



Comes a Horseman

Movies

COMES A HORSEMAN

A neo-Western, the first Jane Fonda-(director) Alan Pakula collaboration since *Klute*, and a sad disappointment. Fonda's the taciturn rancher, Jason Robards the evil land baron, James Caan the strong silent vet. Current social issues merely dress a traditional plot, expressed in a way that confuses thoughtfulness with boredom.

THE WIZ

The Wizard of Oz, 1978. Corn-fed puberty problems have grown up to become urban anxiety. Oz is New York City, munchkins are playground graffiti come to life, and Dorothy (Diana Ross) is 24. No one ever said director Sidney Lumet was subtle, and the ESTY "trust yourself" theme washes over the Dolby track. It's still fun to watch, though, filled with tricks to take your breath away. Sets often steal the show.

MIDNIGHT EXPRESS

Perverse Alan (*Bugsy Malone*) Parker directs a from-life story. Lavishly-filmed brutality underlines the message: don't get caught in foreign countries with drugs. They say the movie promoted an exchange of prisoners. The Turks should have sued for defamation of national character instead.

Contributions by Pat Aufderheide, Tom Baglien, Cary Baker, Bruce Dancis, Derk Richardson.

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CHICAGO

SOUTH AFRICA

The Role of Foreign Investments in Supporting Apartheid
Speakers: Drake Koka, Gen'l Sec'y, Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa
James Wright, United Auto Workers
Addie Wyatt, Amalgamated Meatcutters
Rev. George Riddick, Operation PUSH
Friday, Nov. 3, 7:30 p.m.
1110 South Oakley, Chicago

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CONFERENCE ON MARXISM & ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Nov. 3 & 4 New York University
Keynote Address—David Harvey & Michael Parenti
Schimmel Aud., Tisch Hall, 40 W. 4th St. NYC
Friday, Nov. 3 8 p.m.
Sat., Nov. 4—PANELS—Main Bldg., Rm. 703
Corner of Waverly Pl. & Wash. Sq. East
10:30 a.m.—What Does Marxism Have to Offer the University? Frederic Jameson, Bertell Ollman, Richard Lewontin
2 p.m.—Marxist/Non-Marxist Dialog on Academic Freedom
Ollie Rosengart, Ronald Radosh, Richard Walton and others
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RADICAL HISTORY FORUM Nov-ember 10—Children of Labor & With Babies and Banners. Screening and Discussion with the filmmakers: Mary Dore and Anne Bohlen. Admission \$2.00, John Jay College, 445 West 59th St., New York City. 7:30 p.m.

IN CHICAGO—A BENEFIT CON-CERT FOR THE ERA Sunday, Nov. 12, 4 p.m. (doors open 3:30) at the Quiet Knight, 953 W. Belmont. Judy Roberts, Kristin Lems, Polly Podewell, Julie Kiner. Tickets \$5 in advance, \$6 at the door. Committee for the ERA, 207 S. Wabash, Rm. 406, Chicago 60604. 312/663-0490.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

Ernest Moore, #36520, P.O. Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

Alan Williamson, 144-064, Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Arthur Shelton, 106334, JRCC infirmary, State Farm, VA 23160.

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

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Detective Richard Dreyfuss can't ignore the conscience he thought he left behind in '60s Berkeley student riots.

FILM

New detective movie sees '60s through rose-colored lens

THE BIG FIX

Directed by Jeremy Kagan
Screenplay by Roger Simon
Starring Richard Dreyfuss, Susan Anspach
Universal, PG

The Big Fix is a Hollywood film about '60s activist students in the '70s. Director Jeremy Kagan, writer Roger Simon, and star Richard Dreyfuss are socially-concerned Hollywood types. The plot borrows from Raymond Chandler, and the film has its amusing moments. But as a mainstream film about an era in social protest, it hovers uneasily on the edge of bathos.

The plot is a wax museum of '60s types. Dreyfuss (the self-styled social democrat star who made the film's financing easy) plays a divorced private eye, veteran of Berkeley campus riots now alienated from social causes. He stumbles on a crime involving a Cesar Chavez-like Chicano; a conspiratorial Korean; an Abbie Hoffman-like yippie; a trust-fund-kid socialist; a liberated woman with a heart of gold; and an evil capitalist. In the process, the gumshoe drops some of his hardboiled cynicism and learns to care again.

The Big Fix shows signs of being made by people who also care about something. The gumshoe has two children, who behave—extremely rare in the movies—just like children.

It's fun to watch this working father with his kids. It's also fun to watch the film's satire of EST, here called BEST. BEST gets shown up as nonsensical and maybe immoral.

Slips and stumbles.

The film does, however, slip and stumble technically: (he:) "The '60s are over!" (she, with piercing look:) "Are they?" The gumshoe's wife is so hateful that you can't fathom his marriage to her. And Pauline Kael is right to grouse that Dreyfuss is too cute for words.

But more disturbing than clumsy execution is the way *The Big Fix* misses the sense of '60s social protest. Like the six o'clock news, it describes social activism of the era as a game played by the young

Members of the Chicago 7 liked it—except for one.

who later grew up.

As with *Coming Home*, we're out of history and into melodrama, or at least a section from *Passages*. It's not surprising that *The Big Fix* is melodramatic—after all, it's an adventure story. What's odd is that it refers to social concern too.

Social protest here is at worst a style, and at best good-hearted sympathy. The Hoffman-like yippie explains why he left politics and became an ad man. "It was no longer chic to be a radical." He goes on to explain, "You know why nobody stays a revolutionary in this country? It's like being a spoilsport at an orgy."

With this one statement, you see the problem: this poor fish assumes that we've all been invited to the orgy.

With that backdrop, you can see why the gumshoe is so cynical, why his wife turns to EST, and why his sexy ex-girlfriend devotes her time to a mealy-mouthed liberal politician. They all seem to have missed the passion, the struggle, the issues that caused the turmoil in the first place.

Simon says.

That's not how the scriptwriter, Roger Simon, sees it. In a Chicago interview two weeks ago, he described the film (made from his novel) as an attempt to be modestly progressive. "It was intended to be a movie about a character—the Richard Dreyfuss character—who starts out not too involved in things, and who gets a little more involved. Look, during the '60s many people got active at spontaneous levels and didn't carry through. It's a hard struggle to be a bourgeois person in this society and also carry through."

Simon's getting used to hearing what leftists think about the movie, and having heard every kind of opinion, he's resigned. "You can't satisfy everyone who ever went to a meeting," he says.

He also notes with some amusement that members of the Chicago Seven saw the film. "Most liked it, except one person—I can't name names, but I imagine you can guess—who minded the insult to EST. The others didn't, and EST people didn't—Werner supposedly said, 'There is no such thing as bad publicity for EST'—but this person thought it was a, uh, laudatory organization."

Simon sees for himself and other socially concerned media people the kind of temptation the film's yippie describes: the "orgy." He praises people like Jane Fonda, saying, "I admire them. This country gives them everything—unlimited money, unlimited fame, everything you dream of—and they're still in there, trying to make movies that say something."

Just what a film like *The Big Fix* says, however, is unclear. On one hand, it grants recognition to a part of an era and its aftermath by making it into movie-folklore. On the other hand, a part is easily taken for a whole. Of course, if only Richard Dreyfuss were as charming a gumshoe as Bogey/Sam Spade was hardboiled, we might care less about what it all means. —Pat Aufderheide

Almost Twenty Years of Struggle Against the Persistent Temptation To Vote for the Democratic Party

the way it strikes me is like the good cop and the bad cop: that mode of interrogation to which (as those movies used to tell us) the police had recourse in their dealings with stubborn suspects who evidently had not been to the movies — since it always worked:

you would be getting insulted threatened even pushed around by the bad cop for awhile as you kept refusing to say what he wanted but then he would leave the room and the good cop would come in give you coffee and a sandwich and gently point out that you were only making it difficult for yourself and that he was trying really hard to restrain his friend and colleague but could not do it much longer and so was quite concerned for your welfare because if you didn't get into line pretty soon that bad cop for sure would be coming back in to beat the shit out of you: an effective method operating at all levels of the two-party system

and so I remember Nixon the bad cop of course that obvious villain in 1960: his very countenance a threat to the peace of the world and what twenty-one-year-old with an urban Jewish liberal upbringing fresh out of college would not have run like hell to vote for Kennedy that rich friend of the poor that compassionate and handsome prince with good manners and a sense of humor

what relief we felt when we had beaten Nixon! what terrible things might he have forced us to consent to — a nuclear showdown when the Soviets tried to move their missiles as close to us as ours are to them? an imperialist war in Asia?

and so we chose the handsome Kennedy equally ruthless and with more to lose—and we voted for Johnson that pig that vicious cowboy because Goldwater seemed more war-like what a great joke I'm sure all the dead from that war are laughing about it

and then we wanted Humphrey to save us: we hadn't learned and we believed if we could only make McGovern the chief of police he would be able entirely to change the nature of the force do you really think so?

and what do you see in Carter who this time saved us from the Republican thugs? how much energy can you put into trying to elect good cops your concern with style before you decide to peek into that other room where (while you eat your sandwich with relief) the good cop and the bad cop together are kicking the shit out of someone else.

—Dick Lourie

CULTURE SHOCK



ROLL OVER BEETHOVEN

Billboard reports the top country music artist of 1978: Elvis Presley.

MOTHER'S LITTLE HELPER

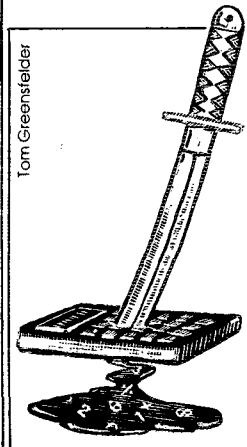
TV producer Ralph Andres finds many game shows disgusting. To "bring some

taste" to the format, he's piloting a new show, "Hit That Mother." Each week three well-known mothers-in-law "will be roasted, insulted and humiliated, with the survivor—if there is one—to get gifts and honors."

MORE NEWS IS GOOD NEWS

Local news directors have come up with a new gimmick to attract viewers: investigative journalism. They have found audiences demand better news. *Broadcasting* reports one programmer: "What we've learned is that you

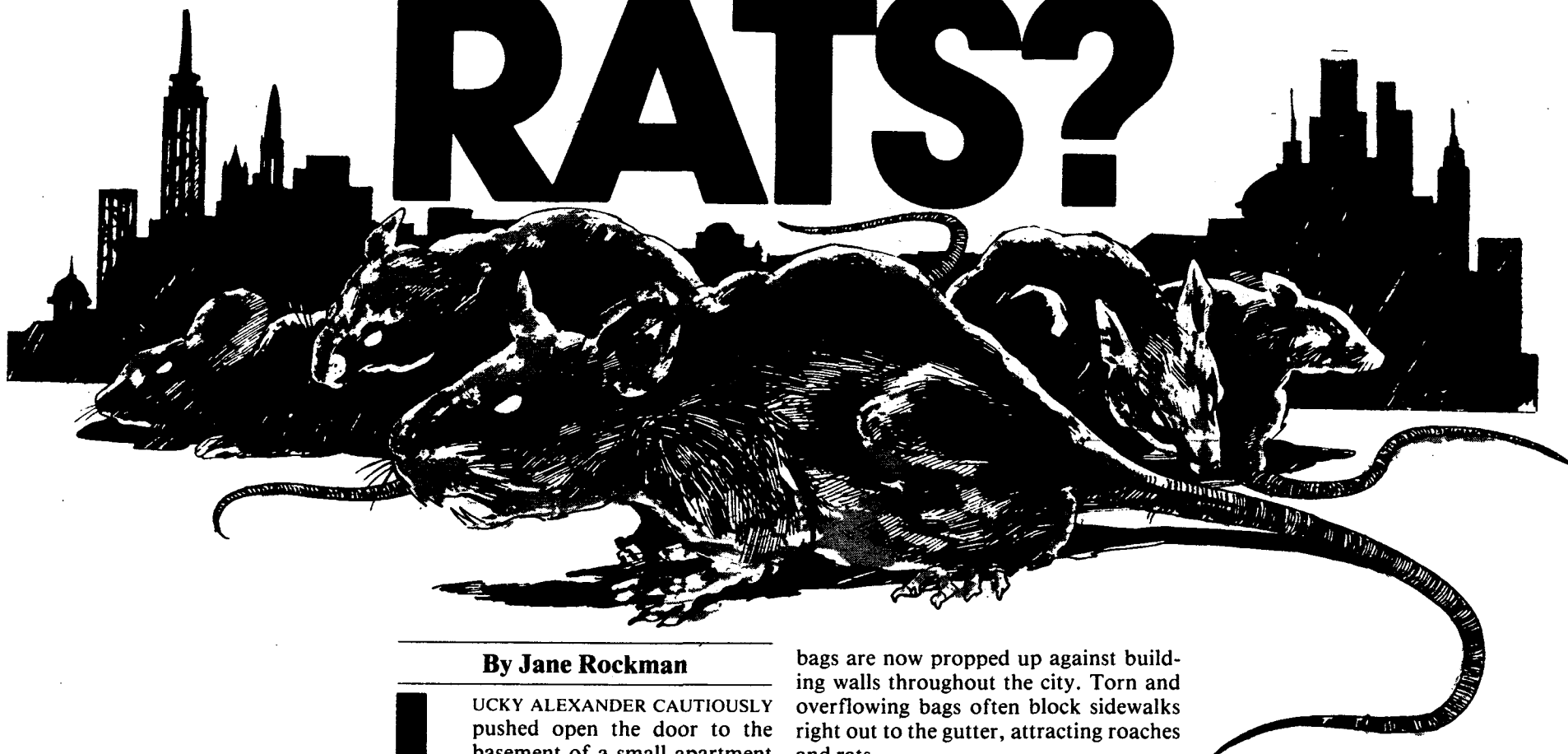
can't fool all the people all the time."



MATH ANXIETY

Movie of the Week is a forthcoming Japanese release, *Stress Trap*, described as "A student's armed rebellion after flunking math."

WILL NEW YORK SUCCUMB TO RATS?



By Jane Rockman

LUCKY ALEXANDER CAUTIOUSLY pushed open the door to the basement of a small apartment building in upper Manhattan. A large rat sprang out of the darkness and brushed past him. Alexander jumped backward. "The two of us were just trying to get out of each other's way," he said later with a laugh.

As a member of New York City's rat patrol, Alexander is used to such encounters. But even he is surprised at the increase in rats that run around fearlessly in daylight. After a recent bakery fire in Manhattan's Upper West Side, he recalled, so many rats gathered to feast on the leftovers that panicked residents flagged down his pest control truck for help.

The city Health Department's Bureau of Pest Control gets between 10,000 and 12,000 rat complaints in a normal year. But this past year, it got nearly 25 percent more.

New York's long-standing war with its rats usually is fought over the supply lines—the 25,000 tons of garbage discarded by city residents daily. Disposing of that much refuse is no small problem, and therein lies a tale of mind over matter.

Randy Dupree, director of environmental health programs, attributes the dramatic increase to the hard winter of 1977-78. While sanitation trucks were busy plowing snow, garbage often sat uncollected for days, and the rats had a plentiful supply of food. When the traditional spring breeding period arrived, they already were in abundance, and their numbers grew alarmingly.

But Anthony Vaccarello, sanitation commissioner, argues that both the garbage and the rat problem got much worse after the city passed laws limiting on-site incineration to help reduce air pollution.

"It was a negative trade-off," he said, "that created a lot more problems for the city."

On-site incineration is "low-level burning." Because the garbage thrown down incinerator chutes consists of many different components—and is often wet besides—it tends to burn with a lot of unhealthy smoke.

In 1966 the city council prohibited installation of new on-site incinerators and required that existing units be converted to compactors or upgraded to meet higher air-quality standards.

Given the choice, most landlords opted for compactors. Robert Rickles, air resources commissioner, said that converting is cheaper than upgrading incinerators and that many landlords were afraid more rigid and costly burning laws would follow, even if they complied with the new requirements.

Since the law went into effect, more than half of the city's 17,000 incinerators have been converted to compactors. Instead of garbage cans filled mainly with incinerator ashes, giant plastic garbage

bags are now propped up against building walls throughout the city. Torn and overflowing bags often block sidewalks right out to the gutter, attracting roaches and rats.

Rickles admits that "the compactor program was not designed to minimize vermin problems."

Garbage is supposed to be compressed to one-quarter of its original volume before it is packed either in plastic bags or containers—although it may start expanding again once the pressure is removed. Insecticide is supposed to be sprayed automatically in the machine, and property owners are expected to spray surrounding areas several times a week.

But one compactor manufacturer estimates that of about 10,000 New York City buildings required to have compactors, more than half have cheaper machines that simply push raw garbage from collection bins into plastic bags without compacting it.

In addition, landlords sometimes fail to spray compactor rooms as often as required and dilute insecticide concentrates.

"The biggest problem is maintenance," said Dupree. "The supers are not doing their job."

The resulting vermin-infested compactor rooms and trash-filled streets create an even greater problem whenever garbage collections are delayed. And collections repeatedly have been delayed since 1975 for a very big reason—New York's fiscal problems.

The Sanitation Department has 4,000 fewer employees now than the 14,500 it had full-time in 1974. Fewer workers has meant less frequent collections. Four years ago, 38 percent of the city had six collections a week and 42 percent of the city had two a week. Today no area gets six collections a week and 58 percent get only two weekly pickups.

On the bright side of all this, the air over New York holds less incinerator soot than ten years ago.

New York's Department of Environmental Protection reports a "noticeable reduction" in the level of particulates—sulphates, nitrates and trace metals—in the air. In 1966 on-site incinerators alone emitted nearly 17,000 tons of particulates. In 1974 the remaining on-site incinerators emitted 6,000 tons.

New York City air now meets federal standards for "emissions from stationary sources," but this is just a small part of the problem. Incinerators account for only a fraction of the city's air pollution. Carbon monoxide levels from cars, trucks and buses still are high.

In the best of all possible worlds, said Dupree, "we would have cleaner air and well-maintained compactors."

In the real world of New York City, however, "the garbage is lingering and the bugs are multiplying," one exterminator said. But breathing a little easier, he sets about tackling the well-fed rats of New York City.

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